

J. Nungaria Soc. India

Vol. 44

1982

G. K. V.

Haridwar



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THE JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

Vol. XLIV

1982

Parts I & II
COMBINED

Vol 44

S: 25

1982



110110

R. C. MAJUMDAR COMMEMORATION VOLUME

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THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

VARANASI-221 005

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THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA
B. H. U., VARANASI-221 005, U. P., INDIA

"The publication of this Journal was financially supported by
the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi.

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Printed at

THE TARA PRINTING WORKS, VARANASI

JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

R. C. Majumdar Commemoration Volume

Vol. XLIV

[1982]

Parts I-II
Combined

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ACHARYA RAMESHCHANDRA MAJUMDAR HIS LIFE AND WORK

A. N. LAHIRI

'Ramesh Chandra Majumdar' is perhaps the most illustrious name in Indian Historiography. His academic activities covered some seventy years out of a lifespan of ninety-one. He wrote a very great number of books, monographs and research papers, on almost all conceivable aspects of the history, culture and archaeology not only of India proper but also of what is popularly known as Greater India. The spheres of his researches pervaded all periods of Indian Civilisation – prehistoric, ancient, medieval and modern. And that is manifest from the efficient editing of the eleven-volume "History and Culture of the Indian People", which clearly speaks of the great height of his erudition and scholarship.

His long life was so colourful, and his writings so diverse and numerous, that I am at a loss as to what I should say and include in this short paper. His rather casually written Bengali Autobiography, *Jībaner Smṛitidipe*, gives me enough material for this paper; but, so far as his books and papers are concerned, I have got the greatest and unstinted help from Srimati Sumitra Chaudhuri, his youngest daughter, who has tried to keep track of almost all his writings and speeches, with a sort of religious zeal. I am however sincerely sorry that I have to prepare this paper in a very short time and amidst various preoccupations. My grateful reverence for the Great Master urged me to write this paper amidst all odds. I crave the indulgence of the readers for evident shortcomings.

His Birth and Boyhood Days

Rameshchandra was born on 4th December, 1888 in a renowned Vaidya family of the village of Khandārpādā in Faridpur district now in Bangladesh. He was the youngest son of Haladhar Majumdar. His mother Bidhumukhi Devi came from the illustrious family of Maharaja Rajvallabh. Rameshchandra had two elder brothers, Prakashchandra and Satischandra, and two elder sisters, Sasimukhi and Pramada. Rameshchandra lost his mother when he was only one and a half years old. His aunt, the wife of his father's elder brother, reared him up.

His father Haladhar Majumder was a vokil of the Tripura State. He resided at Agartala alone, as was the custom of those days. He had to look after a very big family consisting of some thirty members. And the result was immense financial constraint on his part, and the family often passed through very hard days. As Rameshchandra vividly remembers, they would not have square meals on many days. He did not have any shoes for himself, and had for the first time a *nima* to cover the upper part of his hody when he was about five or six years old.

Rameschandra cherished a very fond memory of his home village Khāndārpādā, which had an orthodox social order. His family lived in a surrounding where Muslims and low-caste Hindus predominated. A very congenial atmosphere prevailed there. The various village communities had immense good-will and fellow-feeling amongst themselves. There were, of course, rivalries and litigations in various related families. Social taboos were many, and sailing for Europe was one. Naturally when in 1908 his elder brother Satischandra went to England, Rameshchandra's family was socially excommunicated, so much so that the Vaidya families of Khāndārpādā and its neighbouring areas stopped attending their social functions nor did they invite them to theirs. But gradually in years to come when many others started visiting England, the social restrictions relaxed.

There was only one small minor school in the village, of which Rameshchandra was a student. The village people regularly gathered round the post office, and once a week when the *Hitavādi* or *Baṅgavāsī* would arrive by post one of them would read it out to others around him.

His Education

Rameshchandra entered the minor school of the village at the age of five. He studied there for some seven years. But afterwards for many years he had to move about from place to place according to the postings of his elder brother who somehow met the expenses of his student life. In 1900 he came to Calcutta, stayed in his maternal grandfather's small two-roomed residence in Kalighat and joined the South Suburban School. Thereafter he stayed at Dacca (1902), Hooghly (1903), Calcutta (1904) and and Cuttack (1904-1905).

He passed the Entrance Examination from Ravenshaw Collegiate School in 1905 and was awarded a scholarship. He then came to Calcutta and entered the Ripon (now Surendranath) College, where from he passed the First Arts Examination, standing fourth in First Division. In 1907 he joined the Presidency College, Calcutta, for studying B. A. with Honours in History. He passed the B. A. (Hons.) Examination in Class II and secured a 32-rupee stipend. He got married a few months before the B.A. Examination.

From the Presidency College itself he also passed in 1911 the M. A. Examination in History with Ancient Indian History as his special Group. He stood second in Class I. He then passed the first part of the Law Examination and was for some time an articled clerk in the Calcutta High Court. But law could not attract him longer, and he went in for historical research. He soon came in contact with men like Haraprasad Sastri, and was drawn towards historical studies.

In 1912 Rameshchandra was considered eligible for submitting a thesis on the Andhra-Kushāṇa Period (second century BC to second century AD) for the prestigious Premchand Raychand Scholarship. The noted German scholar Georg Thibaut, who was the examiner of his P.R.S. thesis spoke highly of his work, in which Rameshchandra propounded a new theory about the origin of the Kushana era.

His father wanted him to be a Deputy Magistrate. So after getting his P. R. S. degree he applied for that post, and his name was the first amongst two eligible candidates. But just before his departure for Darjeeling for the interview his wife fell ill and he could not go there. Thus, Fate saved a born historian from being a Deputy Magistrate.

His Initiation in Literary and Historical Writings

His initiation in literary activities very soon encouraged him to go in for historical writings. His first (and perhaps the last) Bengali poem entitled *Matṛihārā* brought him a first prize. And he even wrote a short story for cash prize, but he was not awarded it.

However, after passing the M. A. Examination he wrote a Bengali article on Aśoka, which was enthusiastically published in the monthly *Virabhūmi*. This was his first ever published paper in Bengali, and it was

even seriously taken by Sureschandra Samajpati, a very dreaded critic in those days.

An unfortunate incident soon drew him to a serious controversy. A Brahma gentleman, to whose house Rameshchandra would often go along with his friend Girijasankar Raychaudhuri for religious discussions, once badly criticised the *Rāmāyana* and made derogatory remarks about Rāma and Sitā. Rameshchandra got excited at this and left the congregation. And within a day or two he wrote a letter of protest to the Editor of an English Daily of Calcutta. A good number of letters for and against his case were published in quick succession. An unknown gentleman in a letter addressed him as the 'Defender of Hindu Dharma'. And very soon he was extolled as the 'Defender of the Faith' by his friends and admirers.

His Days in the Calcutta University

In 1913 Rameshchandra became a Lecturer in the Teachers Training College in Dacca. But very soon the post of a Lecturer fell vacant in the University of Calcutta. And Sir Asutosh Mukherjee wanted Rameshchandra to meet him in that connection. When Rameshchandra met Sir Asutosh, he expressed his strong desire to reorganise the Post Graduate Department of History for effective study and research and asked him to apply for the post. Sir Asutosh was highly influenced by the special recommendation of Professor Thibaut (who was the examiner of his P. R. S. thesis). Sir Asutosh assured him of a good academic career, but cautioned him about the difficulties he would have to face at the beginning. Rameshchandra narrates in his autobiography various unfortunate incidents that some senior teachers tried to involve him in. Rameshchandra's hard work and consequent fame was too much for these lazy and incompetent people.

Rameshchandra joined the History department of the Calcutta University as a Lecturer in February, 1914, and continued in that post till 1921. This was the real formative period of Rameshchandra's academic life. He devoted his entire energy not only to teaching but also to study and research. The University of Calcutta provided him with a very solid foundation for his future career of extensive study and intensive research.

In the post-Graduate classes Rameshchandra used to teach the history of ancient and modern India. After about two years Sir Asutosh asked him to do researches in ancient history of India, so that he could gradually prepare himself for teaching that subject.

On the recommendation of Silvain Levi, who then delivered some lectures in the Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh asked Rameshchandra to go to China and learn Chinese, so that he could collect valuable Chinese materials for ancient Indian history. It was an attractive offer, but due to his father's reluctance, Rameshchandra could not go to China, and in his place Probodh Chandra Bagchi went there for the purpose. Sir Asutosh then wanted Rameshchandra to learn Tibetan. But his departure for Dacca for the teaching post in the Dacca University deprived him of that opportunity as well.

While teaching in the Calcutta University, Rameshchandra started doing intensive research work on ancient Indian history of India. His papers were regularly published in various journals. It was Sir Asutosh who first informed him of the publication of his (Rameshchandra's) paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. Sir Asutosh was proud of his performance and encouraged him to devote himself to further research and publications. It was the practice of Sir Asutosh to allot less number of Post-Graduate classes to teachers doing serious research work and even to mention their meritorious publications in Convocation Addresses. It is no wonder that since the time of Sir Asutosh Calcutta University has been renowned for research activities in various fields.

A comprehensive research paper brought for Rameshchandra the prestigious Griffith Prize. Rameshchandra elaborately revised and enlarged the subject-matter of that paper for his Doctorate thesis, entitled "The Corporate Life in Ancient India". He got his Ph. D. degree in 1919, and was the second candidate to receive it from the Calcutta University after Radha Kumud Mukherjee (1916).

The statement in the *Kulajī*s that the *Kulīna* Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas of Bengal were the descendants of those few Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas brought by Ādisūra from Kanauj to Bengal soon aroused keen controversy amongst learned men and historians of Bengal. Akshay

Kumar Maitreya, Rama Prasad Chanda and Rakhaldas Banerjee were prominent amongst those who did, not only disbelieve that story, but also deny even the very existence of Ādiśūra himself. Haraprasad Sastri and Nagendranath Basu belonged to the other camp of believers in the Ādiśūra episode. Rameshchandra took the side of the non-believers who ultimately established that the Ādiśūra episode had no historical foundation. Rameshchandra dealt with the subject in his later publication, *Baṅgiya Kulaśāstra* (1973).

The above episode and some others, however, aroused and enhanced keen interest in the historical studies in Bengal.

His Days in the Dacca University

A. As Professor of Indian History

When the Dacca University came into being, Rameshchandra became interested for a post in the History Department. Accordingly, he met Sir Asutosh for his advice. The latter reluctantly agreed to let him go there but on condition that he would apply only for the highest post of Professor. Rameshchandra had grave doubt about the appointment of a young Lecturer directly as a Professor of a new University. But ultimately he got his letter of appointment and he joined the Dacca University on 1 July 1921 as the Professor of Indian History. It was much later when he became the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University that he knew the secret of that appointment. The miracle happened because of a very strong recommendation of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee.

However, Rameshchandra's prolific writings on historical subjects started with a paper in English which was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* in 1914. His other articles went on coming out in good numbers in the *Journal of Indian History*, the *Indian Historical Quarterly* and the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.

When in Dacca Rameshchandra was drawn into the study and research on the history of Bengal. In 1924 he published *Early History of Bengal* in the form of a monograph.

His *Outline of Arcient Indian History and Civilisation* came out in 1927. And that book was later on published after thorough revision and enlargement as *Ancient India* (and by 1977 had no less than six editions).

By about the same time he seriously conceived the idea of doing researches in a new field, viz. ancient Indian colonies outside India, which had grown up in Malay, Siam, Cambodia, Annam, Java, Sumatra, etc. But pioneer work on the subject was done by the French and Dutch scholars, whose languages Rameshchandra did not know. Yet with great patience and hard work he acquired a working knowledge of French and Dutch. He published two volumes of his *Champa* in 1927. The first volume dealt with history, society, religion and arts, while the second volume incorporated the English translations of Sanskrit inscriptions discovered in Champā (present day Vietnam).

Rameshchandra received immense help in this new research venture from the Vice-Chancellor Mr. Harthog, who arranged for his extensive tour in Europe and South-East Asia by granting ten months' leave with full pay and granting Rs. 30,000/- for purchasing necessary books on the subject. Rameshchandra fully availed of the rare and highly coveted opportunity by visiting in Europe important institutions like the British Museum in London, the Kern Institute in Leiden and the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris on the one hand and the archaeological sites in Java, Bali, Annam, Cambodia and other such places in South-East Asia. No doubt he collected a great amount of necessary research materials as well as a large number of rare books, not available in India. It was by 1929 that he started writing with the help of a research assistant Sri Himangsu Bhusan Sarkar, his since famous book *Suvarṇadvīpa*, which comprised the second part of the history of the ancient Hindu Colonies in South-East Asia. *Suvarṇadvīpa* ultimately came out in two parts; Part I (Political History) in 1936 and Part II (Cultural History) in 1938. He also wanted to organise in Dacca a centre for researches on those extra-Indian Hindu colonies, but his intention remained unfulfilled for want of competent assistants. Sri H. B. Sarkar, his first assistant, had also to leave from Dacca for a better academic prospect. Thus, the work of continuing research on South-East Asia's Hindu colonies became his own personal venture.

Rameshchandra then had to think of starting research activities in other fields. Very soon the idea of taking up the writing of the history of Bengal took a definite shape. At that time the small book of Sandhya-

kara Nandi entitled *Rāmacharita* aroused great interest amongst scholars. Haraprasad Sastri discovered in Nepal in 1897 its only known MS and published it in the *Memoir of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, No. 1. H. P. Sastri's readings and interpretations of the text were considered faulty. The need for a more critical edition of that valuable work with corrected text and proper English translation was strongly felt and three scholars who were then teachers of the Dacca University, viz. R. C. Majumdar, R. G. Basak and N. G. Banerji joined hands for the purpose. But, for various reasons the publication of the book was delayed and it ultimately came out from the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, in 1939.

However, the publication of the critical edition of the *Rāmacharita*, which is very valuable for the reconstruction of the history of the period of Rāmapāla II of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, disproved H. P. Sastri's certain imaginary ideas about a Kaivarta chief Divya or Divyoka who is alleged to have been installed on the Pāla throne after the assassination of the despot Mahīpāla. Interestingly enough, the popular annual functions invoking the memory of the so-called national hero Divya also came to an end with the publication of the new edition of the *Rāmacharita*, which contains a very valuable 35-page Introduction written by Rameshchandra himself.

Rameshchandra then took up in right earnest the writings of a comprehensive history of Bengal, which Lord Carmichael, the first Governor of Bengal, wanted to be written as early as 1912. Rameshchandra was elected President by the Dacca University authorities for arranging the writing of the proposed history by various competent scholars in three volumes. It was also arranged that Volume I dealing with Ancient period would be edited by Rameshchandra, while the editing of the subsequent Volumes II and III respectively relating to Medieval and Modern periods would be entrusted to Sri Jadunath Sarkar. However, for various difficulties and unavoidable circumstances, Rameshchandra could not get the first volume published till after a year of his departure from Dacca. Rameshchandra left Dacca on 30th June, 1942 and the book came out in May 1943.

B. As the Vice-Chancellor

However, Rameshchandra continued to be the Professor of Indian

History in the Dacca University till 31 December 1936. He became the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University on 1st January, 1937, and held the post of Vice-Chancellor till 30th June, 1942, having been granted six months' extension after the completion of the five-year term. Rameshchandra performed his duties as the Vice-Chancellor with exemplary efficiency, and faced a number of difficult and trying situations with courage and dignity. He specially recalls in his Autobiography the memorable visits and stay at his house of great luminaries like Rabindra Nath Tagore, Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay, Sir Akbar Haidari, Sarojini Naidu and Shyamaprasad Mukherjee. He had a trying time with Sarojini Naidu's visit. People were charmed by her extempore speeches and lectures. But since she was then the President of the Indian National Congress, Government authorities at Dacca wanted an advance copy or even a synopsis of her proposed Convocation Address at the Dacca University. But since Mrs. Naidu rarely read out written addresses, there was considerable trouble about her address, which Rameshchandra very tactfully resolved. Then when she was invited to dinner by the Governor, she simply refused to accept the invitation, for the Congress dignitaries and workers were then forbidden to accept invitations from British officials. Rameshchandra argued that visit to the residence of the Governor should be taken to be a visit to that of the Chancellor of the Dacca University, who invited her to deliver the Convocation Address. She agreed on two conditions that her visit must not be announced or mentioned in the Governor's Visit-book and that no second person would be with the Governor-Chancellor when she met him. The Governor-Chancellor accepted the two conditions and strictly followed the stipulations, so much so that when Mrs. Naidu wanted a glass of water, the Governor had himself to go out and bring it for her.

Shyamaprasad's visit to Dacca was during a spell of violent Hindu-Muslim riot. As the President of the Hindu Mahāsabha he wanted to see the plight of the Hindus in the surroundings of Dacca. He informed Rameshchandra of his intending visit by telephone in the morning of the day of his arrival. Rameshchandra tried to desist him from coming, but he would not listen to his pleadings. So Rameshchandra had to agree to his coming and to be his host. Shyamaprasad's mother also spoke to Rameshchandra and requested him to look to his safety. But the authorities at Dacca did not want him there and for over three hours the Police

Commissioner along with Rameshchandra tried to desist him from coming to the town from the Dacca Airport. When Syamaprasad was adamant, the Police wanted him to stay at a place other than the Vice-Chancellor's residence. Neither Shyamaprasad nor Rameshchandra could agree to that also, since Shyamaprasad's mother wanted him to stay with Rameshchandra, who had a very difficult and trying time during the short stay of Shyamaprasad at Dacca.

Any way, the twenty-one years during which time Rameshchandra was at Dacca was a memorable period of the political history of India. There was on the one hand the non-violent movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and on the other hand the armed struggle on the part of various underground political parties. Dacca people, specially the students, played a leading role in both spheres. Intermittently, vested interests instigated Hindu-Muslim riots. And both Hindu and Muslim students got involved in them in spite of themselves. And as the Professor of History or the Vice-Chancellor, Rameshchandra, who was equally loved by both the Hindu and the Muslim communities, had often extremely trying time in looking after the students of both communities and playing the role of an impartial mediator.

Rameshchandra's Departure from Dacca for Calcutta

However, Rameshchandra finally left Dacca for Calcutta after the termination of his Vice-Chancellorship on the 30th June, 1942. Very soon Rameshchandra got involved in an abortive commercial venture. Some of his Dacca students who had opened the Calcutta National Bank and started a cotton mill, besides carrying on war-time military contracts, wanted him to associate himself with their venture. And he had to agree to be the Director of the Cotton Mill. There was sufficient profit. And sometimes Rameshchandra had to go to Bombay for getting cotton through some of his close acquaintances. But very soon he realised that the dealings of his students were not always honest. A good quantity of the cotton he arranged to bring from Bombay found its way to the black-market without his knowledge. Rameshchandra was shocked and disillusioned and promptly resigned the Directorship and dissociated himself from his enterprising students, whose dishonest activities also ushered in the collapse of the Bank along with the valuable shares that Rameshchandra purchased.

His Editorship of the Vidya Bhavan History of India

Rameshchandra's visit to Bombay, though mainly for securing cotton for the mill, was also for some other cause. Once Acharya Jinavijaya, the then Director of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, established in 1938 by Sri Kanhaiyalal Maniklal Munshi, requested Rameshchandra to associate himself with the proposed writing of a comprehensive history of India. When Acharyaji once took him to Bombay to meet Mushiji, he stayed with the latter and had a prolonged discussion about the proposed history of India. Munshiji wanted the book to be of eight to ten volumes, each of five to six hundred pages, and written exclusively by Indian scholars. Necessary money for the publication of the history was soon assured. In 1944 a high-power committee was formed with Sri K. M. Munshi as Chairman, Sri G. D. Birla as Vice-Chairman and six other members amongst whom were Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Sir Tekchand. It was arranged that various chapters would be written by experts under a General Editor. The Committee selected Rameshchandra as the General Editor on the recommendation of Sri Munshi, who formed a very good opinion of him after he saw the editing of the Dacca History of Bengal.

It was decided with Munshiji that the proposed History and Culture of the Indian People would be of ten volumes, of which five would deal with the Hindu period, two with the Muslim period and three with the British period. Later on, after the Independence an extra eleventh volume was decided upon to cover the latest phase of the British rule. There were two stipulations on the part of Rameshchandra : (1) that he would have full power to select contributors and (2) that there would not be any interference with the matter that Rameschandra sent to the press after editing. Munshiji duly accepted the conditions of Rameshchandra and all through followed them rigidly to the latter's grateful satisfaction.

Any way, Rameshchandra soon went to Bombay, and prepared the comprehensive plan and the final list of writers of various chapters and sections of different volumes. The well-known British publishers, George Allen and Unwin, agreed to publish the work. Rameshchandra stayed in Bombay for seven or eight months for the purpose of editing the work according to his own ideas. But ill-health soon compelled him to leave Bombay for Calcutta. A. D. Pusalkar was appointed as the Assistant

Editor to look after the Bombay office. Rameshchandra from Calcutta did all the work of editing and publication.

It was from Calcutta in 1945 that Rameshchandra² started writing his allotted chapters and sections as well as the work of editing. He seriously engaged himself with that work till 1977 when the last of the remaining eleven volumes came out of the press. With the successful completion of the publication of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's projected series of Indian history, a function was organised in a grand scale under the presidentship of the then Prime Minister of India, Sri Moraji Desai, to felicitate Rameshchandra for editing the monumental history of India with exemplary uniformity, accuracy and thoroughness. This great one-man show is in striking contrast with two other ventures of writing India's history in volumes. One such project was sponsored by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and of the various volumes only one (Vol. VI) entitled *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* came out in 1946 under the joint editorship of Rameshchandra and A. S. Altekar. The scheme of writing the Indian History in many projected volumes under the auspices of the Indian History Congress has not yet been fully successful. Of the proposed volumes only two have come to light. Volume II, entitled *Mauryas and Satavahanas* (300 BC to 300 AD) originally published in 1957 is long out of print.

In 1953 Government of India appointed a Committee for preparing a history of India's independence movement, and Rameshchandra was appointed the President of the Board of Editors. Due to major difference of opinion with the persons in power Rameshchandra was compelled to resign from that post. As he felt, it was not possible for him to bring about a made-to-order history of India's independence movement and to compromise with what he knew to be untrue.

His Days in the Banaras Hindu University

Sometime after his coming from Bombay to Calcutta, while he was engaged in editing the Vidya Bhavan's history, Rameshchandra was approached by P. N. Parija, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University on behalf of its Vice-Chancellor, Govinda Malaviya, to accept the charge of the first Principal of the College of Indology. He soon assumed that post and continued in that honoured academic office till 1953, when he resigned due to some serious difference of opinion with Malaviyaji.

to remain in the printed pages of the *History of Mankind*. Rameshchandra, however, wrote a paper on "The Antiquity and Importance of Rigveda" in the *Journal of World History* published by the International Commission.

It is true that Rameshchandra could not make Sir Leonard Woolley to change his statements, but Rameshchandra's views, Sir Leonard's reply and the remarks of the General Editor had all been included in the concerned book, *History of the Scientific and Culture Development of Mankind*, Vol. I, pp. 405-07 and 411, 412. notes 37 and 43.

His Writing of the History of Freedom Movement

During his long lifespan Rameshchandra witnessed India's continued struggle for independence from the time of the proposed division of Bengal in 1905 to the time when India ultimately achieved her independence in 1947. He, therefore, strongly felt that a comprehensive history of India's independence should be written in a proper perspective. In 1948, when he was a member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, he proposed at the Commission's Jaipur session that necessary arrangements should be made to write a detailed history of the freedom movement in India. All that Rameshchandra said has been duly recorded in the Report of the Commission. After a lapse of time and the occurrence of curious events, Rameshchandra was appointed a paid Director for preparation of the history of India's struggle for the achievement of independence, as decided by the Government of India. But Rameshchandra's job was not free from troubles and unnecessary interference. It was in October, 1955 that Rameshchandra was compelled by circumstances to resign from the post of Editor of the proposed work. The concerned official history of India's freedom movement was finally edited by Tarachand.

However, while Rameshchandra was freed from the editorship, he intended to devote his energies to continue the writing of the history of Hindu colonies outside India. But his appointment as the Professor and Principal of the College of Indology at the Nagpur University changed the course of his writing projects. He found that the Nagpur University had good collection of books on the British regime. He thus plunged into the writing of the history of the British period. And thus most of the writings of the last three volumes of the Vidya Bhavan Series came out from his own pen. As the allied subject, he also wrote three comprehensive volu-

mes of the *History of the Freedom Movement in India*. Thus, from the point of contribution, if for nothing else, Rameshchandra's two years' stay at the Nagpur University was remarkably eventful.

After his departure from Nagpur in 1957 Rameshchandra went to the United States with academic assignments. He was the Visiting Professor of Indian History at the Chicago University in 1958. The next year the Pennsylvania University also appointed him a Visiting Professor of Indian History.

His Other Activities

Rameshchandra was also associated with various non academic activities. He was nominated a member of the Film Censor Board by the Government of India before his departure for the Nagpur University assignment. He had to see various films before their projection for public show. Once he saw a film in which Sri-Chaitanya was shown as enjoying a dance by a young woman. This was preposterous, for Sri-Chaitanya was not known to have looked at the face of unfamiliar women. Rameshchandra promptly protested against the scene and wanted it to be expunged, since it was likely to wound the religious feelings of devout Vaishnavas. The film people, who were only keen about box-office hit, did not care for historical niceties, and were not eager to listen to Rameshchandra's arguments. But ultimately the matter was taken up with the Government authorities by a powerful section of the followers of Sri-Chaitanya, and the dancing scene was ultimately removed from the film. Rameshchandra remained the member of the Film Censor Board for three years. And one of its members openly declared that the inclusion of a historian was necessary for the Board censoring films.

Rameshchandra was elected Sheriff of Calcutta in 1968. And it was an interesting affair for a historian of his stature.

His Last Days

Rameshchandra's later life was full of activities, as before. He never remained idle. He attended, or often presided over, different academic and cultural meetings, selection committees for high teaching posts, delivered ordinary and endowment lectures and Radio talks. He reviewed a large number of books and wrote learned Forewords for books of different authors.

In the last stage of his career he specially engaged in writing the four-volume history of Bengal in Bengali and English. On 11th May 1979 Rameshchandra read out his ideas on the theme "What History has Taught Us" for tape-recording for Archives.

He intended to write a treatise on the "Lessons of Indian History," somewhat similar to "The Lessons of History" written by Will and Ariel Durant. He prepared the scheme of the proposed book between the 10th and the 15th of December 1979, and even typed it out. The scheme of the book, which was planned on a broad compass, makes an interesting reading. The book would have twelve chapters, starting with "Antiquity of the Earth and the first symptoms of human settlement in India" (Ch. 1) and ending with "Colonisation and spread of Indian Culture" (Ch. 11) and "War and Peace" (Ch. 12).

Once, about this time, the present author along with his wife met him at his Bepin Pal Road residence where he lived alone with servants. Rameshchandra wanted him to get some songs of Rabindranath Tagore taped for him. Besides having a daily drive to the Lakes and some walking exercise, he would often spend his spare times in enjoying *Rabindra-saṃgīt*. Songs of Rabindranath would make him forget all worries and anxieties and gave him the zest for life.

It was on 11th February, 1980 that Acharya Rameshchandra Majumdar breathed his last in his New Alipore residence after a short illness.

He bequeathed much of his properties along with his rich library to the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, with which he has a very close and prolonged association. In his boyhood days and early youth, Rameshchandra had a bitter experience of poverty, but by dint of his hard work and uncommon devotion for historical studies he earned much more money than was necessary for himself and his family. A good amount of his earnings would go to charities.

His wife Priyabala Devi predeceased him, and he also lost two of his daughters during his lifetime. At the time of his death he left his only son, Dr. Asok Kumar Majumdar, and the youngest daughter, Srimati Sumitra Chaudhuri, who alone is alive to-day.

We have already spoken of his distinguished academic career and various teaching assignments as well as the posts of distinction that he

held during his long and colourful career. He received a number of honorary titles, viz. Doctor of Literature (*Honoris Causa*) of the Calcutta, Jadavpur, Burdwan and Viswa Bharati universities, and *Deśikottama* (Viswa Bharati), *Vidyāvāridhi* (Nalanda Mahavihara) and *Bhāratatattva-Bhāskara* Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta).

He was awarded a good number of Medals, e. g. Campbell Gold Medal, William Jones Gold Medal, B. C. Law Gold Medal and Rabindranath Tagore Centenary Gold Plaque. The Prizes that he received included the Rabindra Prize (Government of W. Bengal), the Rabindra Memorial Prize (Kerala University), a prestigious 7500-rupee cash Prize of a Japanese Newspaper and the 10,000-rupee cash Prize of the Fuel Instruments and Engineers, Kolhapur.

He wrote numerous books and research papers, besides editing a number of books both in English and in Bengali. The books edited by him included many chapters and sections which he himself contributed. He delivered nearly twenty Endowment Lectures in various universities and academic institutions, and almost all of them have come out in print. He read out nearly two dozens of Presidential Addresses in Bengali and English at various conferences and annual sessions of institutions, and also delivered some Convocation Addresses, also in Bengali and English. His Radio talks in the same two languages were many in number and were highly interesting and instructive.

It is gratifying to note in this connection that some years back an American student prepared an interesting thesis on the historical writings of Acharya Rameshchandra Majumdar, and was awarded Ph. D. degree for it.

Acharya Rameshchandra was a life-long champion for the cause of Indian civilisation. A man of great personality and a staunch believer in truth, Rameshchandra may perhaps claim to be the greatest Indian historian of all times. The most commendable trait of his life was his love for truth.

As he noted in one of his last drafts, the object of the 'Study of History' should be 'to find out the truth about the course of events in the past', 'estimate their probable causes and effects', and doing so 'the event

should not be selected or interpreted to support special point of view'. "In order to find out historical truth", he continued, "the data should be collected and interpreted in a strictly scientific method and study should be purely objective.

It is, unfortunately, an irony of fate that Acharya Rameshchandra who did so much for the writing of the scientific history of the Indian sub-continent and the countries which came into its political and cultural influence, is almost forgotten by the historians of the country and no institution has come forward to uphold his ideals and the cause for which he lived and worked. It is in the fitness of things that the Numismatic Society of India had decided to dedicate the Forty-fourth Volume of its Journal to his memory. And the present author is extremely happy to associate himself with that commemorative publication. In doing so he only pays respectful homage to his *mahāguru*.

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3. *Bāṇlādeśer Itihās* (in 4 Volumes) :

(a) Prathama Khaṇḍa : Prāchīna Yuga, 1352 B. S.

(b) Dvitiya khaṇḍa : Madhya Yuga,

(c) Tṛitiya Khaṇḍ : Ādhunik Yuga, 1378 B. S. (1971).

(d) Chaturtha Khaṇḍa : Ādhunik Yuga— Mukti Saṁgrām, 1382 B.S. (1975)-

4. *Vidyāsāgar* (Vidyāsāgar Vakṛitā, Kalikātā Viśvavidyālay).5. *Hindu Sabhyatā O Saṁskṛitir Karmavikās* (Aśok Vikāś Vakṛitā Kalikātā Viśvavidyālay),6. *Madhya Yuge Vāṇlā Vamśkṛitii* (Kamalā Vakṛitā, Kalikātā Viśvavidyālay).7. *Bhārte Itihās Pranālī* (with Kalyan Bandyopadhyay).8. *Jīvaner Smṛitidipe* (Smṛiti-kathā), 1978.9. *Bhārater Saṁkshipta Itihās*.10. *Ādhunik Bhārater Itihās*.11. *Iurop O Viśva-Itihās*.

II. EDITED BY ACHARYA RAMESHCHANDRA MAJUMDAR :

1. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Hindu Period), University of Dacca, 1943.2. *Great Women of India* (with Swami Madhavananda, Advaita Asram, Almora, 1953).3. *Rāja-Vijaya Nāṭaka* (with K. Goswami, Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1947).4. *Rāmacharita* (with Radhagovinda Basak and Nani Gopal Bandhyopadhyay, Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, 1939 : the 36-page Introduction was written by Acharya Rameshchandra Majumdar).5. *Vakataka-Gupta Age* : c. 200 to 500 A. D. (being Vol. VI of the New History of the Indian People : with A. S. Altekar, 1946)6. *Swami Vivekananda Centenary Volume* (published by the Swami Vivekananda Centenary Committee).

7. The History and Culture of the Indian People Series-(published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan) :
 - Vol. I : *The Vedic Age*, 1957.
 - Vol. II : *The Age of Imperial Unity*, 1951.
 - Vol. III : *The Classical Age*, 1954.
 - Vol. IV : *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, 1955.
 - Vol. V : *The Struggle for Empire*, 1957.
 - Vol. VI : *The Delhi Sultanate*, 1960.
 - Vol. VII : *The Mughal Empire*, 1974.
 - Vol. VIII : *The Maratha Supremacy*, 1977.
 - Vol. IX : *The British Paramountcy*, 1963.
 - Vol. X : *Indian Renaissance*.
 - Vol. XI : *Struggle for Freedom*, 1969.
8. *Cultural Heritage of India*, (Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta).
9. *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. III (to be published by the Indian History Congress)
10. *The Classical Accounts of India*, 1960.

N.B. The books are not chronologically arranged, since their dates are not always available. For obvious reasons, the list of Rameshchandra's innumerable articles are not included here.

PRE—SĀTAVĀHANA AND SĀTAVĀHANA COINAGE OF THE DECCAN*

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

Frinds,

Let me at the outset thank the Executive Council of the Numismatic Society of India for doing me honour by asking me to chair its 69th Annual Conference being held in an area (South Kośala) which occupies an important place in early Indian history. As some of you may be aware, I have been reeling under a serious eye trouble involving a couple of major operations and though I have not yet fully overcome it I could no longer resist the temptation of being amidst you, fellow students of numismatics, and shall try to discharge the onerous responsibility you have placed upon me to the best of my ability, with your valuable co-operation though, I must admit, I am not quite sure how far I shall be able to come up to your expectations.

Judging from the last few presidential addresses, thematic addresses have become a fashion these days and, following this time-honoured practice, I have chosen for my address 'Pre-Sātavāhana and Sātavāhana coinage of the Decan'. It is worth recalling on this occasion that exactly three decades ago our revered President of the Jaipur session, Prefessor V. V. Mirashi, who hails from the same place as my humble self, also had dilated on Sātavāhana coins. During the last thirty years that have since elapsed a wealth of new material bearing on the subject has come to light and a stock-taking has become imperative. It is, of course, not intended to deal with the entire gamut of the Sātavāhana coinage which is far beyond the scope of the present address nor to tread upon the hackneyed track which will serve no useful purpose. What we propose to do here is to invite attention to some important recent discoveries and assess their bearing on the pre-Sātavāhana and Sātavāhana history and coinage of the Deccan.

To begin with pre-Sātavāhana coins. Many scholars of the earlier generation held that the Deccan slipped away from the Mauryan authority

* Presidential Address at the 69th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India held at Sambalpur University on October 18-20, 1981.

immediately after Aśoka and the beneficiaries were the Sātavāhanas who ruled for over four centuries till *circa* 225 AD. But most historians now believe, on cogent grounds, in a shorter chronology and are inclined to date the epoch of the Sātavāhana rule to about the middle of the first century BC¹ while there is no dispute about the closing phase of the dynasty. There was, thus, an interval of about a couple of centuries between the termination of the Mauryan power and the commencement of the Sātavāhana rule. Although this phase of the history of the Deccan is still a dark corner, there can be no doubt that the period was not totally devoid of coins. Some recent discoveries have shed welcome light on this problem. A fairly large number of uninscribed cast and die-struck specie in cheap metals like copper, potin and lead has been reported in recent years from the areas which are known to have passed later under the Sātavāhanas. Stratigraphic evidence of the excavations at Brahmapurī (Kolhapur), Chandravalli (Chitradurga district, Karnataka) and Nevasa (Ahmadnagar district, Maharashtra) clearly indicates that uninscribed cast copper coins preceded inscribed monetary issues including those of the Sātavāhanas.² The excavations at Pauni (Bhandara district, Maharashtra) have also yielded a fairly good number of uninscribed cast copper coins and an uninscribed die-struck potin coin in a stratigraphic context which shows that in this area also Sātavāhana coins were preceded by uninscribed cast or die-struck coins in copper and potin.³ In the excavations at Bhokardan (ancient Bhogavardhana) in the Aurangabad district of Maharashtra a fairly large number of uninscribed die-struck coins have been found from different layers, some of them going back to Period Ia called Early/or/Pre-Sātavāhana and dated to c. 2nd-3rd centuries BC.⁴ All these coins are of copper or lead and of Bull : Tree within railing; Bull, Ujjain symbol : Tree, Ujjain symbol; Bull : Ujjain symbol; Bull : Three-Peaked Hill; Bull, Three-Peaked Hill : Ujjain

1. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations*. Nagpur 1972, pp. 103-109.
2. P. L. Gupta, *ibid.* pp. 128ff.
3. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Pauni Excavation* (Ed. S.B. Deo and J.P. Joshi), Nagpur 1972, pp. 32, 98, 100-101.
4. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Excavations at Bhokardan* (Ed. S.B. Deo and R.S. Gupta), Nagpur 1974, pp. 25-58, 62-72. Most of the coins which I described earlier as unattributable Sātavāhana coins ought to be regarded as pre-Sātavāhana issues. The same is true about what I described as miscellaneous coins.

symbol; Bull, Homo : Ujjain symbol; Hill : Tree within railing; Elephant : Tree within railing; Ujjain symbol and Elephant : Ujjain symbol and other miscellaneous types exhibiting numerous variations within the general framework of these types. Although many of these coins come from Sātavāhana layers, there is no doubt that they belong to pre-Sātavāhana period and may have continued in circulation even after the region was occupied by the Sātavāhanas.¹ Uninscribed round cast copper coins of crescented three-peaked hill, six-peaked hill surmounted by a crescent flanked by a *svastika* on either side, tree within railing over a zigzag line (river) flanked by an ornamental *svastika* on left and a four-spoked wheel on right (all these have a plain reverse), crescented three-peaked hill : thunderbolt, three-peaked hill : hollow cross, three-peaked hill topped by a crescent flanked by a taurine on either side : hollow cross, and, crescented three-peaked hill : hollow cross surrounded by subsidiary devices including fish and *nandipada* have been recently reported from Andhra Pradesh by K.K. Maheshwari.² An uninscribed die-struck square coin with a double circle surrounded by nine small circles, Ujjain symbol, a human figure and another rubbed off device on obverse and an eight-armed symbol formed by a double circle surrounded by four arrow-heads and four taurines placed alternately on reverse was recently found at Kota-lingala in the Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh.³ Quite recently my friend K. K. Maheshwari acquired at Hyderabad a hoard of over two hundred round lead coins, all die-struck, bearing a horse standing facing right on a platform with a round ball-like object (food) under its mouth and *śrīvatsa* on back on the obverse and six-peaked hill with a pellet in each of its arches over a platform and tree within railing in a row from left to right and a zigzag line (river) with pellets in loops indicating aquatic creatures below on the reverse. There are numerous variations within the general framework of this type on both sides.⁴ His collection also includes a large number of uninscribed copper and lead coins, round or square, all die-struck, from Nasik region which also bear a variety of devices including tree, animal figures, hill, Ujjain symbol, bow-and-arrow, *śrīvatsa*,

1. Many of these coins have been found in layers which have yielded Sātavāhana and Kshaharāta coins.
2. *Numismatic Digest*, I (i), pp. 1-7.
3. *Ibid.*, III (ii), pp. 17-18.
4. Based on personal observation of the drawings of these coins kindly made available by Shri Maheshwari.

etc. Some of these coins are similar to the above-mentioned uninscribed die-struck coins from Bhokardan.¹ There can be no doubt that all these coins belong to the pre-literate phase of South Indian coinage and are chronologically co-eval with the uninscribed cast copper issues of northern India. Subsequent coinage of the area was profoundly indebted to these issues for the rich legacy of devices noticed on it.

These legendless coins were followed by specie with inscriptions referring to the issuing authority. During the last few years coins of Svamigopa (or Samagopa), Gobhadra,² Satyabhadra³ and Damabhadra⁴ have been reported from the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh and the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra.⁵ Inscribed punch-marked coins of the last named chief have been recently found at Nandner, Sehore district, Madhya Pradesh, also.⁶ The common name ending may indicate that the last three chiefs belonged to the same family and at least one of them ruled over an extensive area extending from Vidarbha to the Bhopal region. The names Kāmavāya and Narana have also been read on some copper coins from Kota-lingala.⁷ Palaeographical, typological and other considerations lead us to attribute these coins and the ruling chiefs represented by them to the pre-Sātavāhana period though we cannot be quite sure about their family affiliation and exact date. Reference must also be made here to the unique coin attributed to the ancient town of Tagara (modern Ter, Oosmanabad district, Maharashtra) which has also to be assigned to the pre-Sātavāhana age.⁸

It will follow from the foregoing survey that a volume of legendless and inscribed coins in cheap metals like copper, lead and potin circulated in the different parts of the Deccan in the post-Maurya period and must

1. Information kindly supplied by Shri Maheshwari.
2. *Numismatic Digest*, II (i), pp. 13-14; II (ii), pp. 28ff.
3. *ABORI*, Diamond Jubilee Volume, pp. 963-967.
4. Coins of this ruler are in the collections of Shri Raghunth Sanghi of Nagpur and Shri Kottamkar of Umred (Nagur District) and will be published shortly. Coins earlier attributed to Dimabhāga also belong to him.
5. Coins of the first two monarchs come from Kota-lingala and those of the last two from the Wardha and Nagpur districts of Vidarbha.
6. *Numismatic Digest*, IV (i), pp. 5-7.
7. *Ibid.*, III (i), pp. 18-23 and 25-26.
8. *JNSI*, XXXIII, pp. 37-40.

have played an important role in the regional economy. It need hardly be added that silver punch-marked coins must have also continued in circulation.

We may now pass on to some problems of Sātavāhana coinage which, like the Kshaharāta coinage, inherited its rich wealth of devices from the preceding coinage of the region.

The most sensational discovery in the field of Sātavāhana coinage during the last few years is indeed that of the die-struck copper issues of Chhimuka Sātavāhana¹ who is undoubtedly identical with the founder of the dynasty whose name is variously spelt in the dynastic texts of the Purāṇas² and with Simuka Sātavāhana mentioned in one of the label inscriptions at Naneghat.³ As we have pointed out elsewhere, the spelling of the first part of the name (Chhimuka) shows that one of the Purāṇic variants of the name, Chhismaka, was not totally unfounded and that the king's name was pronounced both as Chhimuka and Simuka, the former in the present-day Telugu-speaking region the transformation of *sa* into *cha* being due to the interchangeability of these letters in Dravidian Prākṛit.⁴ We need not argue that in the event of such a change the initial letter of the second part of the name should also have been changed likewise, for there are numerous examples in inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda of the indiscriminate use of *sa* and *cha* for one another.⁵ Likewise, we have examples of the king's name being spelt differently in his own records.⁶ Along with the coins of Chhimuka Sātavāhana those of Sātakarṇi and Sātavāhana

1. *Numismatic Digest*, II (i), pp. 10-13; II (ii), pp. 24-26.

2. F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 38, fns. 20 and 21.

3. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I (2nd ed., 1965), pp. 190-191.

4. In some Ikshvāku inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda the name Śāntamūla is spelt as Chātamūla. Likewise, a copper vessel containing 5,534 silver punch-marked coins found at Chik Sandogi, Raichur District, Karnataka, bears on it the inscription *Chāntasa* which stands for *Śāntasya* (i. e. of Śānta). See, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 22th Session, pp. 968-69.

5. See *EI*, XX, pp. 16 ff. where the ruler's name is spelt as Chātamūla while elsewhere the sibilant is retained.

6. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is called Sadakaṇi in some of his inscriptions and Sātakani in others. Likewise, the dynastic name is spelt both as Sātavāhana and Sādavāhana. The name of king Sātavāhana is also spelt variously on his coins.

have also been found at Kota-lingala.¹ They are all die-struck and present new types. There has been some debate regarding the date of Sātavāhana *vis-a-vis* other early Sātavāhana rulers and it has been argued, primarily on palaeographical considerations, that the former was earlier than Chhimuka Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi I and perhaps the founder of the dynasty which was named after him. But it has been pointed out, with some justification, that 'any attempt to suggest any date or chronology for any coin on the basis of palaeography is nothing more than hair-splitting and serves no purpose.'² And the issue is clinched by the stratigraphy of Nevasa excavations which clearly proves the posteriority of Sātavāhana to Sātakarṇi³ who himself was, according to the Purāṇas, nephew of Chhimuka or Simuka.⁴ The obvious conclusion, therefore, would be that Chhimuka is the earliest Sātavāhana chief whose numismatic and epigraphic records have been brought to light so far. As regards the suggestion about the possibility of there having been more than one chief named Sātavāhana,⁵ which is based on typology of coins, we can only aver that it cannot be treated as anything more than a mere conjecture till some more definite evidence bearing on the question comes to light.

We may now refer to an interesting round (diameter 2.3 to 2.5 cms.) die-struck lead coin (wt. 120 grains) encountered in the excavations at Satanikota in the Nandikotkur Taluq of the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh.⁶ It bears a *triratna*, a device consisting of three slightly curved vertical lines, *vāmāvarta svastika*, *nandipada* and the Brāhmī legend *sir [i*]-Satakumārāsa* on the obverse and a tree with artistically designed cursive trunk and branches and leaves and fruits represented in the form of pellets and a wavy line with some aquatic creature on the reverse. Judging from the legend, this unique coin may be attributed to Sati-siri of the larger

1. Sātakarṇi : *Numismatic Digest*, II (i), pp. 19-20; II (ii), p. 27. Sātavāhana : *ibid* II (i), pp. 18-19; II (ii), pp. 26-27.
2. P. L. Gupta in *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations* (Ed. Ajay Mitra Shastri), p. 135.
3. Coins of Sātakarṇi I have been found in lower layers and those of Sātavāhana in upper layers.
4. F. E. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.
5. *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 144-151; *From History to Prehistory at Nevasa* (1954-56), p. 176; *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations*, p. 49.
6. *Numismatic Digest*, V (i), pp. 9-14.

Naneghat inscription¹ and prince Śāktikumāra of the late Jaina traditions recorded in the *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri² and the *Vira-charita* of Ananta.³

These discoveries are of great value for the early history of the Sātavāhanas. Though the Kota-lingala coins are surface finds, they afford the earliest numismatic evidence for the Sātavāhanas discovered so far. Though the fact that coins often travel long distances cannot be gainsaid, their discovery in a fairly good number and low intrinsic value seem to point to the association of the Sātavāhanas with the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh from the very beginning. And this fact in turn explains why the Purāṇa writers style the Sātavāhanas as Andhra or Andhrajātiya and why some later members of the dynasty employed Dravidian Prākṛit for reverse legends of their silver portrait coins. Further, while we cannot yet be quite sure about the original home of the Sātavāhanas, the numismatic finds in question may lend strength to the claims of the Telangana region.

The stratigraphic position of the Satanikota coin of Śāktikumāra is very important for the determining the much debated epoch of the Sātavāhana rule. It will follow from the Naneghat inscription that Śaktiśrī or Śāktikumāra was probably a son of Sātakarṇi I and Nāganikā. The coin in question has been found in the earlier layers of Period II which is dated by the excavators from c. first century BC. to c. third century AD. Finds associated with the coin include, to mention only datable ones, russet coated painted ware and rouletted ware besides a few minor antiquities which indicate for it a date somewhere early in the first century AD. Now, as Śāktikumāra was the fourth member of the dynasty, the commencement of his rule may be dated quite reasonably around the middle of the first century BC, a view which finds support from other evidences also.⁴

1. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 194, text-line 4.

2. Singhi Jain Series, Vol. X (Santiniketan), V. S. 1991), *Pratishṭhāna-pura-kalpa*, pp. 61-64.

3. M. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 275-276. I am thankful to Dr. U. P. Shah for supplying information about literary references to Śāktikumāra.

4. For a discussion of some of these evidences, see *Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations*, pp. 103-109.

Mention must be made, in this context, of a lead piece found in the excavations at Virapuram, Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh. It has been described as a bilingual coin with portraits on both sides; the obverse giving the name and titles (in Greco-Roman characters) and portrait of the Roman emperor Tiberius and the reverse an Indian portrait and a legend in Brāhmī giving the name and title of the Sātavāhana king Haku-siri. Its stratigraphic position and the regnal period of Tiberius (14-37 AD) have been taken to support the beginning of the Sātavāhana rule around 30 BC.¹ However, a close look at the published photographs would indicate that it is not bilingual and the scribbling on the reverse is actually an unsuccessful attempt to produce some legend from a Roman coin. The reverse portrait, like that on the obverse, also looks Roman and the piece was actually intended for use as a pendant and is comparable to clay bullae used likewise and reported from several sites. A lead imitation of the coin of Tiberius was found at Kondapur also and was obviously meant for ornamental use. It will, thus, follow that the piece neither affords any evidence for dating the epoch of the Sātavāhana power nor indicates close political relationship between the Sātavāhanas and the Roman emperor Tiberius, as thought by the excavators.

It is commonly believed that historical focus of the Purāṇa writers shifted from Pāṭaliputra to the Vidiśā region after the Mauryas and the purāṇic description of the overthrow of the last Kāṇvāyana king Suśarma by the Andhra king Simuka actually refers to the occupation of the Vidiśā region by the latter. However, as the Sātavāhanas started issuing inscribed coins from the very start and as the earliest Sātavāhana coins found in the Vidiśā area are those of Sātakarṇi I, it appears that Ākara first passed under the Sātavāhanas during Sātakarṇi I's region.²

A highly controversial problem of Sātavāhana history and coinage is the identity of Śivaśrī Puṣumavi. His Elephant-Ujjain symbol type

1. *Exploration, Excavation Bulletin* No. 1, Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad, p. 24. There is much unwarranted surmise about the Sātavāhana king's visit to the Roman empire.
2. Sātakarṇi is also mentioned in one of the Sanchi inscriptions. No pre-Sātakarṇi evidence for the presence of the Sātavāhanas in the Ākara-Avanti area has been found so far.

potion coins were included in the Chanda (Brahmapuri)¹ and Tarhala² hoards and he was generally identified with Śivaśrī Pulomā who, according to the Purāṇas,³ succeeded to the Sātavāhana throne after Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. Coins attributed by Rapson to Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Sātākarni⁴ also belong to him, the suggested concluding part of the legend, *Sātakaṇṣa*, being absent on them. The intended full legend on them obviously was *raño Vāsishṭhīputasa Sivasiri-Puḷumāvisa*. Coins with this legend are also included in the Wategaon (Satara district, Maharashtra) hoard.⁵ It has, however, been suggested recently that *śivaśrī* in the legend on these coins is only an honorific and that Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi was none else than Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi himself, the son and successor of Gautamīputra Sātākarni, and also that the coins bearing the legend *raño Sivasiri-Puḷumāvisa* or *raño Vāsishṭhīputasa Sivasiri-Puḷumāvisa* like those with the legend *raño Sivasiri-Puḷumāvisa* or *raño Vāsishṭhīputasa siri-Puḷumāvisa* belong to him.⁶ The Purāṇas, however, clearly distinguish between Puḷumāvi (Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi of coins and inscriptions) and Śivaśrī Pulomā (Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi of coins and inscriptions) while some of the Purāṇa texts insert a certain Sātākarni between them.⁷ A concordance of all the relevant Purāṇic evidence seems to indicate that Gautamīputra Sātākarni was succeeded in order by Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Vāsishṭhīputra Sātākarni, Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi and Vāsishṭhīputra Skanda Sātākarni⁸ who appear to have been related as brothers to each other. Fortunately, important numismatic evidence brought to light recently helps us solve this problem once for all. Two silver portrait issues of Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi have been reported in the last few years, one in a private collection at Indore⁹ and the other found in the

1. *Proceeding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1903, p. 117; *Num. suppl.*, no. XLV, Article 318.
2. *JNSI*, II, p. 88, pl. VIII. 13-14.
3. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
4. *BMC, AWK*, etc., p. 29, pl. V. 115-116.
5. *JNSI*, XXXIV, pp. 210-212.
6. *JNSI*, XXXI, pp. 151-154; XXXIV, pp. 210-212.
7. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
8. A *Vāyu* manuscript inserts a Sātākarni after Pulomā while the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* refers to a Sātākarni before Śivaśrī. See Pargiter, *op. cit.*, reconstituted text and note 1 on p. 42.
9. *Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography*, iii, pp. 7ff.

excavations at Dhulikatta in Andhra Pradesh.¹ The portrait on these coins is so very different from that of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi on his already known silver portrait coins that now there can be absolutely no question of identifying the two. A recently found Banavasi inscription, which mentions Vāsishṭhīputra Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi,² also supports this distinction.³

We know of a few Sātavāhana chiefs who are not mentioned in the Purāṇas but known from inscriptions and coins. Three of them are Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Karṇa Sātakarṇi and Śaka Sātakarṇi whose existence is vouched for by a few potin coins of the usual Elephant-Ujjain symbol type included in the Brahmapuri and Tarhala hoards.⁴ As these chiefs are not known from any other source, it is difficult to ascertain their date. It is, however, pertinent to note in this connection that the two hoards in question contain no coin of any pre-Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi chief. And practically all the rulers from Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (or, according to another view, Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi) to the last king of the dynasty mentioned in the Purāṇas are represented in these hoards. As such, there is no room for any of these chiefs till the termination of the reign of the last Sātavāhana king, Puḷumāvi, referred to in the Purāṇic chronicles. It will, thus, follow that these three kings flourished after the end of the main line of the Sātavāhanas. And as coins of these chiefs have not been reported from any other region it may be reasonably concluded that they were local Sātavāhana rulers of the Vidarbha region after the termination of the main dynastic line. In other words, it would mean that the Vidarbha region continued to be under the rule of a line of the Sātavāhanas for a few decades after other areas had slipped from their authority; Vidarbha being thus the last stronghold of the Sātavāhana power. It has been popularly believed by historians that the dynasty is styled Andhra or Andhra-jātiya in the dynastic texts of the Purāṇas because at the time of their compilation or shortly prior to that its rule was confined to the Andhra region. It is surprising that in this connection the evidence of the Tarhala hoard, which has been known to numismatists for over four decades,⁵ has

1. *Andhra Pradesh Journal of Archaeology*, I (ii), pp. 105-114.
2. *Studies in Indian Epigraphy (Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India)*, I, pp. 34-39.
3. We have discussed this problem at length in a paper under publication in S. R. Rao Felicitation Volume.
4. *JNSI*, II, pp. 83ff.
5. It was published in 1940. And the Brahmapuri hoard which contained coins of Karṇa Sātakarṇi was published over a century later.

been ignored altogether. Now that we know that Vidarbha continued to be ruled by a branch of the Sātavāhanas after the rest of their former dominions had slipped away from their hands, the above genesis of the name Andhra or Andhra-jātiya applied to the Sātavāhanas in the Purāṇas can no longer be accepted. If this yardstick were to be applied, the Sātavāhanas ought to have been better styled Vaidarbha. We, therefore, hold that the *Purāṇakāras* call Sātavāhanas Andhra or Andhra-jātiya not because Andhra was their last stronghold but because of their close association with Andhra from the very beginning of their rule.

The close of the Sātavāhana rule in the Deccan is generally dated around 225 AD. But as we have seen above, Vidarbha confined to be under a line of the dynasty for a few more decades. As we know of three of these chiefs, it may be reasonably argued that they may have ruled for about forty-five years, say till c. 270 AD. In recent years there has been much controversy about the date of the Malhara (Amrawati district) plates of Adityaraya and consequently about the flourishing period of the chiefs mentionea therein.¹ It has been recently suggested that as the Sātavāhana rule ended about 225 AD. and as the first Vākāṭaka king Vindhyaśakti I, commencement of whose reign was earlier placed in 250 BC., is not definitely known to have ruled over Vidarbha, we get a period of some four decades between the termination of the Sātavāhana rule and the accession of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena I in c. 270 AD. wherein we can accommodate the Muṇḍaputra chiefs know from this inscription. It would follow, however from the numismatic evidence at our disposal that there is absolutely no room for the Muṇḍaputras between the end of the Sātavāhanas and the commencement of the Vākāṭaka rule in Vidarbha and we are left with no alternative but to place them in the post-Vākāṭaka period which goes well with palaeographic, linguistic and other considerations.

We may now turn our attention to Sātavāhana silver coins. It is well known that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi re-struck the silver specie of his Kshaharāta adversary Nahapāna, evidently after overthrowing him. It appears, however, that in addition to restriking these pieces he issued his silver coins also. Nearly thirty-five years ago was published a silver coin bearing six-peaked hill with a pellet in each arch over a platform, a wavy

1. See *Vidarbha Samsodhana Mandala Vārshika*, 1974, pp. 139-44; 1974, pp. 1ff.; *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, IV, pp. 30-41; V, pp. 1-9; VII, pp. 69-75. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

line underneath it and the fragmentary legend *raño Gotami* on the obverse and Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb on the reverse. It was debated for quite some time whether the coin was issued by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi or by Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi.¹ However, it is now generally agreed that the issuer of the piece was none other than the re-striker of Nahapāna's silver coins, and, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is, therefore, credited with introducing his own silver coinage.² It may be added that recently a similar silver coin with three-peaked hill and a bit more complete legend on the obverse and one of the orbs of the Ujjain symbol capped by a crescent has also come to light.³ It was once suggested by us that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi initiated his independent silver coinage after re-striking his adversary's coins using, for this purpose, the same obverse and reverse types with which he had re-struck earlier Nahapāna's coins. It is equally or perhaps more likely, however, that he first introduced his own silver coinage and later employed the same types and legend when an opportunity to re-strike his vanquished adversary's silver issues presented itself before him.

The silver issues of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi do not seem to have found favour with the subjects who had become accustomed to portrait coins during Nahapāna's rule and the Sātavāhanas lost no time to satisfy popular notions by issuing portrait coins. Whether Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi himself took initiative in this direction during the closing years of his reign cannot yet be determined. Recently, three silver portrait issues of the usual type have been attributed to him.⁴ But as the matronymic Gautamīputra cannot be read on any side, the attribution is very doubtful. There is no doubt, however, that his son and successor Vāsishthīputra Puṣumāvi and some other later members of the dynasty including Vāsishthīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsishthīputra Śivaśrī Puṣumāvi, Vāsishthīputra Skanda Sātakarṇi, Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi and Vāsishthīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi issued silver portrait coins. All these coins are of a set pattern and have the issuer's portrait to right and Brāhmī legend giving the king's name, matronymic, the regal title *rājan* and the honorific *śrī* in Prākṛit on the obverse and crescented Ujjain symbol on left, crescented six-

1. JNSI, VIII, pp. 111-113; IX, pp. 93-94 and 95-96; X, 22-23 and 24; XIV, p. 3.

2. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, XXIII, pp. 324-328.

3. The coin is in Shri K. K. Maheshwari's collection and under publication by him.

4. *Vidarbha Samśodhana Mandala Vārāṇasika*, 1930, pp. 166-169.

peaked hill on right, a solar device between their upper parts, a zigzag line underneath and a circular legend in Dravidian Prākṛit and Brāhmī, which is a literal rendering of the obverse legend, on the reverse. Of late, a new variety of Yajña Sātakarṇi's silver coins showing a change in the position of the Ujjain symbol and hill has come to light.¹ Vijaya Sātakarṇi is styled Vāsishṭhīputra on his only known silver coin. Whether he was also, like some of the Vāsishṭhīputras mentioned above, a son of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi cannot be determined in the present state of inadequate information.

So far only some twenty five silver portrait issues of the Sātavāhanas have been reported and it is therefore commonly believed that these coins are extremely rare. However, many Sātavāhana silver coins being unreported in private collections and their publication will go a long way in removing the not so well founded notion about their rarity. It may be mentioned here that according to the information at my disposal a long number of such coins recently surfaced in European markets.²

Literary and epigraphic sources leave no doubt that forgeries of coins were quite rampant in ancient India as at present and it was not always easy to detect them. It is evident that Sātavāhana silver coins are diestruck and it is due to this fact that legends and devices are in most cases not accommodated on them fully. But a clay mould of the reverse of the silver coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi was found in the excavations at Nagarjunakonda in the Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh³ and recently another clay mould of the obv. of Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi's silver issues showing the king's head in three different phases of his life-youth, middle and old ages-has been reported from Paithan only last year.⁴ The discovery of these moulds has been taken to indicate that Nagarjunakonda and Paithan were two of the Sātavāhana mints which issued silver portrait coins. However, as Sātavāhana silver coins were clearly produced from dies, these moulds appear to have been forger's equipment. It is note-

1. *Numismatic Digest*, III (i), pp. 1-3. Another such coin is in Shri Pukhraj J. Surana's collection. Information kindly supplied by Shri K. K. Maheshwari.
2. A monograph on the Sātavāhanas silver coinage is under preparation by one and will be published by me.
3. *Indian Archaeology 1956-57 A—Review*, p. 38, Pl. IV LXIB. It was erroneously regarded as of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and, as pointed out by I. K. Sarma (*JESHO*, XVI, pp. 89ff.) really belongs to Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumavi.
4. *Vidarbha Samsodhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, pp. 169-170.

worthy in this connection that moulds to produce Kshatrapa silver coins have also been discovered at several places. In some cases far away from the areas known to have been under the Kshatrapas, and, as we have pointed out elsewhere,¹ they, too, represent contemporary attempts at forging coins. It is noteworthy in this connection that all these moulds were meant to produce coins in costlier metal alone and this fact also indicates their real nature and object. These moulds are, however, significant from another point of view. They show the great popularity enjoyed by Sātavāhana silver coins as otherwise there would have been no necessity and incentive for attempting forgeries. It would indeed be worth-while to locate the coins manufactured from these moulds. Plating base metal coins with costlier metal with the object of fetching inordinately higher value than their intrinsic one was another way of forging counterfeit coins. One silver-plated copper coin of Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi is deposited in the Birla Archaeological and Cultural Research Institute, Hyderabad, and another silver-washed copper Sātavāhana portrait coin in a private collection at Buldhana.² Such ancient forgeries relating to several ancient Indian ruling families as well as of punch-marked coins have been reported in a fairly large number from different parts of the country. These forgeries are evidently due to traders and smiths who were eager to make easy money.

While it is admitted on all hands that the reverse legend of these bilingual issues shows a wide linguistic variation as compared to the obverse legend, there is much unnecessary controversy about its exact nature. Some take it to be Telugu while according to others it is Tamil. Without being dogmatic on this question, it may be asserted with a fair degree of reasonability that the language at issue is neither exactly Telugu nor Tamil as we understand them today. The employment of *puḷḷi* in *ṭṭi* of *Vāhiṭṭi* (for *Vāsiṭhi* of the obverse legend) makes it out to be close to Tamil while if the terminal letter in most of the words is correctly read as *ku*, it would point to Telugu. What is read by others as *h* is read by protagonists of Tamil as *ch*. But this feature is common to both the Andhra Prakrit and Tamil. The words *arahaṇ* (or *Arachaṇ*) and *mākaṇ*, in one form or other, are in use in Telugu, Tamil and Kannada. We may, therefore, conclude justifiably that it is futile to see in it either Telugu or Tamil in the modern sense and

1. *Excavations at Bhokardan*, p. 74; *JNSI*, XLI, p. 22; XLII, p. 116.

2. In the collection of Shri Chandmal Verma. Information kindly supplied by Shri K. K. Maheshwari.

that it is actually a Dravidian language which was the precursor of both these languages.

Before we leave Sātavāhana silver issues, mention may be made of a terracotta piece from Paithan bearing part of the legend and devices of the reverse of the silver coins of Vāsishthīputra Puṣumāvi in the positive, in relief. As the legend is not in negative and it as well as devices are in relief, the piece could not have been used as a mould. It may, therefore, be taken as a proof piece or a model preserved in the royal mint. It is equally likely that it was employed as a matrix for the production of dies. Similar proof pieces or matrices of some other coins have also been reported.¹

So far about the pre-Sātavāhana and Sātavāhana coinage of the Deccan. With your kind permission I may now make a few general observations about numismatic studies in India. There is no doubt that a rich wealth of material bearing on the subject has been brought to light, thanks to the untiring efforts of numismatists, coin-collectors and others interested in the progress of numismatic studies. However, what has been published is only a fraction of the material actually discovered. Innumerable coins and other objects including punches, moulds, dies and proof pieces are still lying unnoticed with various governmental and private agencies. If these sources are tapped fully, they are bound to enrich enormously numismatic and historical studies. I therefore take this opportunity to appeal to the authorities of the central and state departments of archaeology and museums to give up the dog in the manger policy and get their collections studied by competent scholars or at least throw their collections open to numismatists. It must be mentioned in this connection that a few state departments of archaeology like that of Andhra Pradesh have adopted a commendable and liberal attitude in this matter. I should like to suggest that all rich museums and regional offices of the Archaeological Survey of India and state departments of archaeology should have on their staff properly qualified and trained numismatists who would devote themselves to the study and publication of the material already collected and that may be collected in future.

It is equally necessary to tap the material in private collections. This would be best achieved by bringing the numismatists and coincollectors on a common platform which would benefit both. From this point of view

1. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 115-117.

it would be desirable to have regional organisations which can meet frequently and take stock of the material collected from time to time besides striving to generate popular interest in the subject. It is heartening to note that recently some initiative in this direction has been evident and the Coin Society of Nagpur and the Varanasi Chapter of the Numismatic Society of India have come into existence. It is hoped that such organisations would do commendable work in their own limited sphere.

It will be admitted on all hands that the Numismatic Society of India, in its life of nearly seven decades, has played a great role in furthering numismatic studies, primarily through its two main activities, viz. annual conferences and publications.

The *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, of which forty-two volumes have already been published, has played lion's part in providing a highly valuable forum for the publication of numismatic material and all students of Indian coins in any corner of the globe have to consult it. I am confident that it will continue to play this great role in future also. It is necessary, however, to pay more attention to editing and production so that it is brought on par with international standards. To achieve this objective the editors have to prune and be selective about the contributions received, sometimes at the risk of contributors' displeasure. This is all the more necessary in these days of mounting paper and printing cost.

If numismatic evidence is to be utilised for furthering historical studies, an adequate knowledge of the language in which the legend is composed is a must. Without wasting time in citing examples I may point out that some of the recent writings on early Indian coins evince much unwarranted speculation and historical deductions which could have been easily eliminated had the writers possessed some knowledge of the language or consulted some one conversant with the language. I should, therefore, like to suggest that students of Indian numismatics ought to acquire the necessary linguistic apparatus by attending short-term diploma courses where ever available or privately or at least consult a knowledgeable person before trying to interpret an otherwise enigmatic legend.

It will be seen from the above the popular interest in coins is growing and the future of numismatic studies, notwithstanding some inevitable shortcomings, looks bright. Let us all, on this solemn occasion, rededicate ourselves to the furtherance of the cause of numismatic research.

Last but not the least, I thank you all once again for the honour you have done me and for giving me a patient hearing.

TWO SILVER PUNCH-MARKD COINS FROM SANCHANKOT

K. S. SHUKLA

(Pl. I. 1-2)

Sanchānkot is an imposing mound on the right bank of the river Sai in the Unnao district. It is situated on the ancient Kannauj-Rājgriha highway¹ about 15 kms NW of Bangarmau. The small village perched on this high and extensive mound is known as Rāmkot. Scholars are of the view that it was ancient Sāket,² which was one of the three major cities of the Kośala kingdom in the time of the Buddha.³ Hence the importance of the coins and other antiquities of this site is self-evident.

A hoard of ancient coins including silver punch-marked coins and copper cast coins was⁴ procured by Alexander Cunningham during his visit to this site about a century ago. He got 52 coins out of which 45 were old Indian and 2 Indo-Scythian coins. The so-called 'Hindu coins' were of the oldest known kinds—both punch-marked and cast.⁴ Unfortunately, no detailed description of these punch-marked coins obtained by Cunningham is available now. The same case is with the 'Indo-Bactrian, Indo-Scythian and Gupta copper, silver and gold coins' obtained and referred to by Fuhrer in 1891.⁵ Since then silver punch-marked coins have been found almost every year, but no record of them is traceable. In his thesis Dr. Vasudeva Singh made a passing reference of 8 punch-marked coins which were found at Sanchānkot and presented to Subhas National College, Unnao, by late Sri V. D. Tripathi (M. P.) in the early fifties. All these coins referred to by Dr. Singh are rectangular in shape.⁶

1. Dr. Motichandra, *Sārthavāha*, p. 16
2. N. L. Dey, *Geog. Dict.* p. 174; A Fuhrer : *Monumental Antiquities of N. W. Provinces and Oudh*, (1891), p. 275.
3. R. C. Majumdar, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 4; *Mahāvastu*, 1, 348.
4. A. Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. IX. p. 54.
5. A. Fuhrer, *op. cit.*, p. 275.
6. Dr. Vasudeva Singh, Unpublished Thesis (1964) Sagar University (M. P.), Pl. VI, p. 54.

Recent discovery of two silver punch-marked coins—one circular and the other oval or elliptical—is quite significant from the numismatic and technological point of view. As is well known, the square or rectangular silver punch-marked coins are commonly found all over the country from the Himalaya mountains to Cape Comorin, and from Sistan to the mouths of the Ganges¹ and beyond, such as Afganistan,² but circular or elliptical silver punch-marked coins are rare and very few among the hoards are found so far.

A detailed description of the two silver punch-marked coins from Sanchānkot is as follows :

1. Circular Coin

Obv. Sun, Taurine, caduceus, standard on a platform (or linga ?) with a Taurine, crescent topped hill (?),

Rev. Small taurine.

2. Oval coin

Obv. Sun, *Shadachakra*, Caduceus, tree-in-railing, four dots (?)

Rev. Five-arched hill.

What is remarkable in coin No. 1 described above, is the crack that developed when the symbols were punched on it when it was a hot globule in semi-solid state. Again, the imperfect impression of the symbols suggests that all the five symbols were punched at the same time, not separately as in the case of bent-bars of the Gāndhāra region or thin small pieces of Saurāstra,³ by a single die; and therefore, the symbols were out of flan as the globule or the peilet was too small to accomodate all the symbols punched on it. Secondly, the globules were usually of a standard weight, as there was no possibility of clipping the metal to obtain the desired weight as envisaged in the square and rectangular silver punch-marked coins of both the thin and thick varieties.

As the technique of pouring molten metal in the form of small globules and then punching it with a die having a set of five symbols requires no greater skill than preparing thin strips of metal and cutting

1. A. Cunningham, *ASIAR*, Vol. XIV. p. 18 Pl. X.

2. R. D. Banerjee : *Num. Sup.* No. XIII, p. 227-231, Pl. XXVIII.

3. P. L. Gupta : *Coins* (National Book Trust of India Publication), p. 11-12.

and punching them with a variety of symbols. The second or elliptical silver punch-marked coins seem to be the fore runners of their square and rectangular counterparts. This is also attested to by the occurrence of only one small symbol on the reverse of the two coins described above.¹ The rarity and paucity of circular coins also suggests their limited production due to rudimentary and insipient technique of fabrication demanding taxing patience to see them gradually harden for effective punching.

Lastly, but not the least, the occurrence of the symbols like the sun, caduceus and tree-in-railing, which are frequently met with the Harappan symbology, indicates their greater antiquity and earlier stage of fabrication; for some of these gradually disappear in the coins of later series. This particularly holds good with the caduceus symbol.

Thus, it may be inferred from the above discussion that the circular or elliptical coins were one of the earlist specimens of the Indian currency. A fresh stratigraphical and symbological study of such coins obtained and discovered from different parts of the country may further throw ample light on their antiquity and the authority that issued them.

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1. The occurrence of several symbols on the reverse certainly suggests their long circulation in time and space, but the presence of only one symbol on the reverse of the circular or elliptical coins suggests only one authority to issue them after careful examination of their weight and paucity of metal. These also suggest wider but restricted circulation.

UNINSCRIBED COPPER COINS FROM AHICHHATRA

SAVITA SHARMA

(Pl. I. 3-16)

Generally, we notice that the early die-struck coins are struck on both the sides and bear some inscriptions along with the symbols. Recently, some die-struck coins which are said to have come from Ahichhatra, and were in the possession of late Shri Brij Mohan Vyas, are now in my collection. These coins are in copper and are very small in size.

Ahichhatra, a well known site, was the capital of North-Panchala (modern Ramnagar) twenty miles away from Bareilly.¹ These coins are without legend and have symbols only on one side, and the other side is blank. As far as I know, no such coin was ever published from Ahichhatra or from elsewhere.

The fourteen coins in my possession may be distinguished into four varieties on the basis of their devices.

Variety I

Number of Coins	: 1 (Pl. I. 3)
Shape	: Round
Size	: .75 mm.
Weight	: .600 gms.

Obverse : The symbol on the obverse side of the coin is partially struck but consists of four circlets which is clearly visible.

Reverse : Blank,

Variety II

Number of Coins	: 6 (Pl. I. 4-9)
Shape	: Roundish.
Size	: .85x.73; 1.22; .83x.75; 87x.75, .76 and 1.03x .84 mm.
Weight	: 1.00; .550; .750; 1.200; .850; and 1.200 gms.

1. Chakraborty, S. K., *Ancient Indian Numismatic* (Varanasi 1973) p. 204.

- Obverse : Bull standing to left, above four circlets symbol (as on Pl. I. 4).
Reverse : Blank.

On coins nos. 3-4, the bull is not clear but on coin no. 6 the back portion of the bull is clearly seen. On coin no. 7, the bull is standing facing to left. (The above four circlets-symbol may be out of flan)

The symbol above the bull on all the coins is similar to symbol seen on variety no. I, but on coins nos. 2 and 5, a line is noticed in between two balls, which joins them with each other.

Variety III

- Number of Coins : 5 (Pl. I. 10-14)
Shape : Roundish (No. 14, Oval)
Size : 1.01; 1.00x .91; .93x .86; 1.00 and 1.22x .80.
Weight : 1.00; 1.200; .800; 800; 1.100 gms.

Obverse : The bull is facing to right, only its back portion is seen on the coins except coin no. 10 (The bull is out of flan). Tree-in-railing in the centre and the so called Ujjain symbol on the right.

Reverse : Blank.

Variety IV

- Number of Coins : 2 (Pl. I. 15-16)
Shape : Rectangular, Roundish.
Size : 1.72x.85; .75x.60 mm.
Weight : 1.100; .700 gm.

Obverse : Bull facing to left on right, Tree-in-railing in the centre and the so-called Ujjain symbol have inter-changed their places.

Reverse : Blank

A study of these coins shows a gradual changing sequence in the four circles symbol. Firstly, it is a symbol consisting of four circles



· In


the next stage two of these circles are joined by a line




or




and in the third stage all the four circles are joined by two lines making a

cross . This completes the formation and makes it the so-called

Ujjain symbol, which is mostly found on the coins from Malwa region. But this symbol is 'not confined' to this region only and can be seen on many tribal and local coin series in various forms. This four ball symbol is also very common on Sātavāhana coins.¹ On the coins of Sātavāhanas it appears for the first time in the form of four simple disjointed circles with no cross-bar and over the back of the bull.² Here it is very interesting to note that on the present coins this four circles-symbol is also to be seen above the bull. On an elephant type coin of Sātakarṇi II the

four circles of the symbol are linked (as on our variety No. I) .³

But on the king : elephant type coins of the king Sātavāhana a crescent is joined to one of the circles which are not joined together with a

cross or line .⁴ On some specimens two circles are closely joined,

with no cross-bar and crescent.⁵ Later on we find that the four-circles symbol with a crescent becomes a very prominent symbol on Sātakarṇi II's elephant type and Satisiri's Homo-type coins in various forms and continued till the end. It is tempting to suggest here that this so-called 'Ujjain Symbol' may have originated in this way.

We have not as yet any sure indication for dating these coins. It is generally presumed that the cast coins followed the punch-marked coins

1. Sharma, I. K., *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire* (Delhi 1980) p. 69.

2. *Ibid*, p. 69, Pl. III, A-4.

3. *Ibid*, p. 69, Pl. VII, B-20.

4. *Ibid*, p. 69, Pl. IV, B-1.

5. *Ibid*, p. 69, Pl. VII, B-16; PL. V, D-2; D-3).

and the die-struck coins followed the latter. The inscribed die-struck coins are usually placed palaeographically earliest in circa second century BC.¹ Therefore, it would not be far from truth to assume that these uninscribed die-struck coins preceded them. Cunningham² and Smith³ are inclined to assign the inscribed coins from Ahichhatra to a period from 100 BC to 100 AD. I am not aware of any local cast coins from Ahichhatra and consequently it is quite likely that these uninscribed die-struck coins may have immediately followed the punch-marked coins; and so they may be placed in the late 3rd or early second century BC. But anything positively can only be said when some more coins of this type are found in a controlled excavation.

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1. Allan, J., *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*. (London 1967). p. IXXIV.
 2. Cunningham, A., *Coins of Ancient India*, (Varanasi-1971) p. 79.
 3. Smith, V. A., *Coins of Ancient India, A Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Vol. 1, (Varanasi-1972) p. 185.

ŚIBI COINS IN THE DECCAN COLLEGE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

S. J. MANGALAM
(Pls I-17a-b, 18a-b II. 1-4)

Prof. H. D. Sankalia in his archaeological exploration in Rajasthan years ago had collected as many as nineteen coins of the Śibi republic from Nagari, the capital of this tribe and the find-spot of a number of Śibi coins published here.¹ These coins are now preserved in the Museum of the Department of Archaeology, Deccan College, Pune, and the author was kindly advised by Dr. Mrs. Shobhana Gokhale of this department to examine them carefully in order to find out any variation from the known ones. On examination it was felt that these coins, highest number so far found, should be brought to the attention of the numismatists in order to ascertain the true characteristics of the Śibi coins and to set aside the doubtful ascription made previously. The coins are described below in serial order as preserved in the Museum.

The common devices on the Śibi coins are *swastika* attached with 'taurine' symbols on its four ends or 'cross with taurine' symbols in all the four angles, 'a tree' generally sprouting from a circle, and semi-circular legend on the obverse, and six-arched hill symbol which in some cases is surmounted by ornamental *nandipada* and below the hill a symbol of river on the reverse. Unlike the 'tree-in-railing' depicted on other contemporary tribal coins, the Śibi coins show the tree above a circle or sprouting from a circle. However, coin No. 1 has no tree symbol on the obverse. On coin No. 2 the *swastika* with *taurine* symbols replaces the 'hill-river-*nandipada*' motif on the reverse and the obverse has only the *tree* symbol with the usual legend [Plate I. 17a-b]. Coin No. 9* has no symbols on the reverse but only the legend 'Sibi'. It has also the same legend on the

1. Prinsep : *Essays in Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I, Pl. VII, 2, 3, Cunningham; *ASR*, VI, 200 ff, XIV, 146 ff; Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. cxxiii ff, p. 213 nos. 21-22, Pl. XLIV, 6, 7; Smith, V. A., *IMC*, Vol. I. p. 180, Pl. XXI, 12; *ASI. AR*, 16, pt. I, p. 15. *JNSI*, IX, 82ff; XV, 46 ff;

* The members referred here are from the list given at the end of the article.

obverse. Coin No. 17 does not have the usual 'eight or ten branched tree and the *swastika* with taurine' on the obverse, instead a small branch with no railing or circular base at the bottom of it and a small 'X' shaped cross are depicted. The latter device is not a portion of the *swastika* on the edge of the coin flan but it is definitely depicted as such in the middle of the flan [Plate II. 4]. Thus coin Nos. 1, 2, 9 and 17 are varieties different from the usual Śibi coins.

On the obverse of coin Nos. 3, 5, 10, 12 and 15 the *swastika* is replaced by cross symbol and the taurine symbols are set in the corners facing four directions [Plate II. 1, 2, 3]. The significance of the *swastika* and cross must be one and the same, i. e. the solar symbol. The *swastika* without taurines occurs on certain coins of Aśvakas, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas, Uddehikas, and Yaudheyas.¹ But *swastika* attached with or cross associated with taurines is particularly a device employed by the Śibis.

On the reverse of coins No. 5, 7, 12 and 15 the six-arched hill is surmounted by an elaborate *nandipada*, which was understood by Cunningham as a *Dharmachakra* symbol.² Prinsep was right in drawing this symbol exactly as on the coins.³ After Prinsep only Roshanlal Samar has reported a Śibi coin with *nandipada* symbol.⁴ Hence Dasgupta is hesitant to include this symbol among those of the Śibis.⁵ The coins under study point out clearly that the *nandipada* symbol was occasionally depicted on the Śibi coins. Since the Śibis were supposed to be the devotees of Śiva, it was but natural for them to employ this sacred motif on their coins.

V. A. Smith described a coin in the Indian Museum as 'allied to the Rājanya coins' which was again ascribed to the Śibis by J. N. Banerjea.⁷ This particular coin has on the obverse 'a tree-in-railing', which is not met with in any of the known Śibi coins, and an indistinct

1. Dasgupta, K. K., *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, 1974. pp. 30, 79, 91, 176 and 222.
2. Cunningham, *ASR*, XIV, p. 146.
3. Prinsep. *op. cit.* pp. 113-114, PL. VII, 2, 3.
4. *JNSI*, IX, 82ff, Pl. V, 5rev.
5. Dasgupta, *op. cit.* p. 159-60
6. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 180, PL. XXI, 12.
7. *JNSI*, XV, 46 ff.

legend which was read as *Janapada* by Smith and *Śiv (i) janapada* by Banerjea. The reverse depicts either a lion (Smith) or a griffin (Banerjea). Presuming the attribution of this coin to the *Śibi Janapada* as correct, Dasgupta takes the indistinct motif on reverse as a bull.¹ It is, however, very doubtful whether this Indian Museum coin can be attributed to the *Śibi Janapada*, because neither the devices nor the legend tally with the known types of the *Śibi* coinage. Of the nineteen coins under study not a single specimen is found having even a tree symbol similar to that on the Indian Museum coin. It is quite fictitious to read the legend as *Śibi Janapadas*, (vide *JNSI*, XV, Pl. II, 1).

The symbol referred to by Allan² and quoted by Dasgupta³ is not noticed in any of the coins under study, nor it has been noticed by others. Allan, just by inadvertence, has identified a portion of the *swastika*-taurine symbol with it. It is quite possible that the lower right limb of the *swastika*-taurine was taken by Allan to be that sign.

The six-arched hill symbol and river beneath is a device employed by many tribals on their coins and it is interesting to note that the Western Kshatrapas also adapted this motif. It is noteworthy that a number of Western Kshatrapa coins have come to light from Nagari itself along with the *Śibi* coins.⁴ Hence the Western Kshatrapas might have copied the hill-river motif from the *Sibi* coins.

The size and weight of the coins Nos. 1, 2 and 9 vary considerably from the rest. These were no doubt of lower denomination and were few in number. The difference of weight between coin No. 10 and coin No. 8, though both are of the same size, shows clearly that the former is of a lower denomination. It is, however, difficult to determine the metrology of the *Śibi* coinage. The weight varies from 6.44±8 gms i. e. about 100 grains or 55 *rattis* to 1.89 gms i. e. 29 grains or 16 *rattis*. This lowest group may belong to the series of *Ardha-Kārshāpaṇa* i. e. half of the *Kārshāpaṇa* of 32 *rattis*. The lightest *Śibi* coin known previously is 1.66 gms or 18 grains which may be 1/8 of a *paṇa*

1. Dasgupta, *op. cit.* pp. 152 ff.

2. Allan, *op. cit.* p. 213, no. 21.

3. Dasgupta, *op. cit.* p. 152.

4. *Indian Archaeology; A Review*, 1955-56, p. 66; 1957-58, p. 62 ff; 1967-68, p. 64.

of 144 grains.¹ But the problem is with regard to the higher denomination of 6.4428 gms and many intermediary series which cannot be easily accommodated along with the known Indian weight standard. The contemporary tribal republics of Rajasthan issued coins in different weights. The coin weight of the Ārjunāyanas varied from 5.248 gms to .960 gm and that of the Mālawā coins varied from 1.036 gms to .098 gm. These coins can be divisions of the standard Indian *pana* of 146 grains (80 *rattis*). The Śibi coinage apparently shows a different weight standard difficult to determine.

Dasgupta rightly excludes the two bronze pieces with the legend *Jathapura* ascribed to the Śibis by Altekar.² These coins have no resemblance in size, device and the arrangement of the legend with the known Śibi coinage.

Description of Sibi Coins From Nagari in the Deccan College Archaeological Museum

S. No.	Diameter	Thickness	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
1	1.5 cms	0.3 cm	3.475 gms	<i>Swatika</i> with taurine symbols, Legend : <i>Sibi</i> .	six-arched hill, river
2*	1.5 „	0.15 „	1.895 „	Tree, Leg. — <i>Bi Janapadasa</i>	<i>Swastika</i> with taurines Pl. I. 17 a b.
3	1.9 „	0.2 „	4.995 „	Tree, cross and taurines, Leg. <i>Jhamikayasibija</i>	Defaced, traces of hill.
4	1.8 „	0.2 „	3.780 „	Tree, <i>Swastika</i> with taurines, Leg. <i>Majhamikaya</i>	Defaced.
5	1.9 „	0.2 „	5.330 „	Tree, cross with taurines, Leg. <i>Majhamikaya Sibija</i>	Six-arched hill, <i>Nandipada</i> on top River below,
6.	1.9 „	0.3 „	4.765 „	Defaced. Leg. <i>Sibi</i> .	Defaced.

1. Dasgupta, *op. cit.* p. 161.

2. *JNSI*, XIV, 5 ff.

S. No.	Diameter	Thickness	Weight	Obverse	Reverse
7*	1.9 „	0.3 „	5.465 „	Tree, <i>Swastika</i> with taurines, Leg. <i>Majhami</i> .	Six-arched hill, <i>Nandipada</i> on top and river below. Pl. I. 18 a b.
8	2.0 „	0.3 „	6.4428 „	Tree, <i>Swastika</i> with taurines, Leg. <i>Sibi Janapadasa</i>	Six-arched hill, river below.
9	1.35 „	0.2 „	2.540 „	Tree, <i>Swastika</i> and taurines, Leg. <i>Sibi</i> .	Leg. <i>Sibi</i>
10	1.85 „	0.1 „	2.320 „	Defaced. Traces of taurines, Leg. <i>Majhamikaya Si</i> .	Defaced. Traces of Hill and river. Pl. II 1.
11	1.8 „	0.25 „	4.730 „	Tree, <i>Swastika</i> with taurines, Leg. <i>Majhamikaya Sibija</i>	Defaced. Traces hill and river.
12	1.9 „	0.25 „	5.750 „	Tree, Cross and taurines, Leg. <i>Majhamikaya Sibija</i> —	Six-arched hill, <i>Nandipada</i> on top and River below. Pl. II. 2
13	1.9 „	0.3 „	5.435 „	Tree, <i>Swastika</i> with taurines, Leg. <i>Sibi Janapadasa</i>	Six-arched hill and River below.
14	1.8 „	0.2 „	4.340 „	Tree, <i>Swastika</i> with taurines, Leg. — <i>Sibija</i>	Six-arched hill, part of <i>Nandipada</i> on top, river below.
15	1.9 „	0.25 „	5.510 „	Traces of Tree, Cross and taurines, Leg.— <i>Sibi Jana</i> —	Six-arched hill, <i>Nandipada</i> on top and river below. Pl. II. 3.
16	1.85 „	0.2 „	5.255 „	Tree, <i>Swastika</i> with taurines, Leg. <i>Sibi</i>	Six-arched hill, the rest defaced.
17	1.95 „	0.3 „	5.455 „	Small tree branch, small X, Leg. <i>Sibi Janapada</i>	Six-arched hill Pl. II. 4.
18	1.8 „	0.25 „	4.970 „	Tree, <i>Swastika</i> with taurines, Leg. <i>Sibi</i> .	Defaced.
19	2.0 „	0.2 „	5.380 „	Tree, <i>Swastika</i> with taurines, Leg.— <i>Padasa</i>	Six-arched hill, River below.

A NOTE ON THE BHĀGILĀ COINS¹

SANT LAL KATARE

In a note published in *Numismatic Digest*² Km. Alaka Tiwari proposes to correct my reading of the legend *Bhāgilāya* on some coins published by me some three decades ago³ into *Bhagilāya* on the basis of her own reading of the legend on some other similar coins she has now published. She also disagrees with my identification of Bhāgilā with a city and identifies her Bhagilā with a queen.⁴ She does not agree with the date proposed by me for these coins either.

As regards the legend I have nothing to change and very little to comment on, for as pointed out before the legend on the coins published by me reads as *Bhāgilāya*.⁵ Of the two Bhāgilā coins by Km. Tiwari, No. 2 also has the legend as *Bhāgilāya*. She appears to have failed to notice the *ā mātrā* on *bha*. Her eye-copy of the coin, even though it does not faithfully represent the coin shows a turn to the right of the vertical of *bha* at the top, and this turn is nothing but the stroke indicating the *mātrā* of *ā*. She has also failed to notice the *mātrā* of *ā* on *da* in the legend *Dāmabhadasa* on another coin she has published.⁶ Her reading of the legend on coin No. 1 is also rather defective. It reads as *bha ga la ya*, because the strokes for the *mātrā* of *ā* on *bha* and *la* and *mātrā* of *i* on *ga* are truncated.

I have notes of a number of other Bhāgilā coins which Thakur Indra Kumar Singh Chauhan of Jamunia had shown me soon after the coins under reference had been published and all these coins also had the legend as *Bhāgilāya*. Recently Dr. Shankar Tiwari of Bhopal shew me a couple of dozens of these coins which he has cleaned to the mint condition by his ingenious method of cleaning and all of them have the legend

1. The reasons for my preference of the name Bhāgilā in place of Bhāgila (*JNSI*. XIV, pp. 9 ff) are discussed in this note.
2. *IV*. i. pp. 1 ff.
3. *JNSI*. XIV, pp. 9 ff. pl. II. 13-17.
4. *Numismatic Digest* IV. i, pp. 2-3.
5. *JNSI*. XIV, p. 12.
6. *Numismatic Digest* IV. i, p. 5, No. 2.

Bhāgilāya as clear as the daylight.¹ Dr. Tiwari proposes to publish these coins in a monograph very soon.

The above evidence would also dispose off Altekar's view² that the legend reads as *Bhāgilāyā*. However, I would agree with Altekar in one thing, that *Bhāgilā* and not *Bhāgila* was the correct form of the name.³ What makes K. D. Bajpai⁴ attribute me the reading *Bhagilāya* I do not know. Obviously, he has not verified the facts.

Now about what *Bhāgilā* stands for. I have suggested that it stands for the name of a city. But Km. Tiwari thinks that her *Bhagilā* was the name of a queen for the reasons that (1) the legend is in the dative singular, (2) no city like *Bhāgilā* is known from literature, and (3) the *Bhāgilā* type coins had followed the coin type of *Dāmabhada*.

Even if *Bhāgilā* was the name of a queen the legend should have been in the genitive singular and not in the dative singular. And *Bhāgilāya*, as pointed out by Altekar,⁵ is the genitive singular of *Bhāgilā* in the *Prākṛita* in the manner *Majhimikāya* in the legend *Majhimikāya Sibi-janapadasa* is the genitive singular of *Majhimikā*.⁶ Similarly, *Kurarāya* and *Pusadatāya* in a record reading as *Kūrarāya Pusadatāya dānam*⁷ are the genitive singulars of *Kurarā* and *Pusadatā*. Several examples of similar forms of the genitive singular may be quoted. A. M. Shastri's view⁸ that the names of cities on coins occur in the nominative singular, which view also appears to have weighed upon the thoughts of Km. Tiwari while suggesting that *Bhāgilā* was the name of a queen,⁹ is not borne out by the coins of every city. Besides *Bhāgilāya*,

1. Dr. Shankar Tiwari was good enough to give me a photographic enlargement of the legend *Bhāgilāya*, more than six times of its original size, to show how the legend reads like. But I do not want to waste the space of this *Journal* by publishing it and leave it to Dr. Shankar Tiwari to do it in his monograph.
2. *JNSI* XIV, p. 11, fn. 1, p. 13, fn. 1.
3. *Ibid.* p. 13, fn. 1.
4. *Ibid.* XL1, p. 40.
5. *Ibid.* XIV, p. 13, fn. 1.
6. *Ibid.* IX, p. 52.
7. Marshall and Foucher : *Monuments of Sanchi* I, p. 358, (No. 602).
8. *Journal of Indian Academy of Numismatics and Sigillography* II, p. 1.
9. *Numismatic Digest* IV. i, p. 4.

Kurarāya and *Majhimikāya* the example of *Vedisasa*, the genitive singular of *Vedisa* (Skt. *Vaidīśa*)², on coins⁵ may be cited.

But all this is not material for the identification of *Bhāgilā*. Even the fact that *Bhāgilā* does not occur anywhere in literature as the name of a city or a village is not material, for Indian literature is not supposed to list the names of all the cities and villages in India. *Kurarā* or *Kurara*³ also does not occur in Indian literature, but that it was the name of a city is evident from the two records on Sanchi stupa railings.⁴

As regards her contention that the *Bhāgilā* coin type had followed the *Dāmabhada* coin type *Km.* Tiwari gives no arguments in her support. The coin type of *Dāmabhada* with tree in railing, the Ujjain symbol and river with fish etc.⁶ is not quite an adequate evidence to determine the relative chronology of the two types of coins. However, I may discuss this evidence only briefly.⁶ But these are not the only coins which have to be taken into consideration for the purpose. There are also those of *Kurarā*, *Nārāyaṇamitra*, *Bhūmidata*, *Hathadeva*, *Vasumitra*, *Sāti* or *Sātakarṇi* beside those of *Vajramitra*, *Sumitra* and *Ravibhūti* referred to by *Alaka Tiwari* which are to be kept in mind, because except otherwise indicated all of them come from the same site.

The symbols on the above coins, except those of *Vasumitra*, which I do not propose to discuss here,⁶ and of *Vajramitra*, *Sumitra* and *Ravibhuti*, which have not been yet published⁷, are (1) tree in railing,

1. CII. IV. i, p. 49.
2. Recently I had an occasion to see a coin at Indore with the legend *Vedisasa*. *H. V. Trivedi* also had such coins.
3. Both the forms, *Kurarā* and *Kurara*, appear to have been current. This is borne out by *Kurarasa*, the genitive singular of *Kurara*, in a Sanchi record which reads *Badhakasa kurarasa bhichhu [no] dānam*. Marshall and Foucher : *op. cit.* I, p. 372, No. 716.
4. *Ibid.* I, pp. 372 (No. 716), p. 358, No. (602).
5. It is strange that *K. D. Bajpai* should change *Dāmabhada* into *Rāmabhadra* (*JNSI*, XLI, p. 39) without rhyme or reason. *Ra* never changes into *da* and in *Brāhmī* the two letters cannot be confused.
6. This coin is in the collection of *Dr. Shankar Tiwari* which he hopes to publish in a monograph very soon.
7. Only after the coins are published that I would be in a position to comment on them.

(2) the Ujjain symbol, (3) river with fish, etc, (4) triangle headed standard in railing, (5) taurine in a horse-shoe, (6) taurine without a horse-shoe, (7) lotus, (8) elephant to left (9) bull, (10) serpent, (11) elephant to right.

The arrangement of the symbols on the coins of each of the above cities and princes is as below:—

No.	Name	Variety	Obverse	Reverse
1.	Bhāgilā	A.	1, 3, 7, 9.	Blank. ¹
		B.	1, 3, 7, 9.	3, 7, 1 (?). ²
		C.	1, 3, 7, 10.	Blank. ³
2.	Kurarā		1, 2.	Blank. ⁴
3.	Dāmabhada	A.	1, 2, 3.	Blank. ⁵
		B.	1, 2, 3.	? ⁶
4.	Bhūmidata	A.	3, 4, 8.	6. ⁷
		B.	3, 4, 8.	Blank. ⁸
		C.	3, 4, 5.	Blank. ²
		D.	1, 3, 4, 5, 8.	Blank. ⁹

1. *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 9-10, pl. II. 13-16; *Numismatic Digest* IV. i, p. 2, No. 1. On these coins the lotus symbol is quite clear and need not be confused with a sun as done by Alaka Tiwari.
2. *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 10-11, pl. II. 17.
3. From notes on as many as five coins in the collection of Shri Chauhan. There are several coins in the collection of Dr. Shankar Tiwari and they are of different varieties. *ND*. IV. i, p. 3, No. 2
4. From my notes on five coins in the collection of Shri Chauhan. The collection of Dr. Shankar Tiwari has more than eighty coins of different varieties.
5. One coin in the collection of Shri Gopaladas Mangal of Indore, five in that of Shri Chauhan and several in the collection of Dr. Shankar Tiwari. Also *ND*. IV. i, p. 5, No. 1, p. 6, No. 3. The provenance of Mangaldas's coin is not known.
6. *ND*. IV. i, p. 9, No. 4. The reverse side of the coin illustrated on p. 6 is not the reverse of *Dāmabhadasa* coin under reference but that of some other coin. Therefore it is not possible to say whether this *Dāmabhada* coin has any symbols on the reverse or is blank. That the obverse of one and reverse of another coin should have been published as the obverse and reverse of one and the same coin is something very very astounding.
7. Two coins in the collection of Shri Chauhan.
8. Several coins in the collection of Shri Shankar Tiwari.
9. Collection of Shri Gopaladas Mangal. The provenance of these coins is not known. The symbols on these coins might suggest that the issuer was a different king. But I refrain from expressing any final opinion on the matter at present.

5.	Nārāyaṇamitra		3, 4, 5, 8.	Blank. ¹
6.	Hathadeva	A.	3, 4, 5, 7.	Blank. ²
		B.	3, 4, 6, 8.	5. ²
7.	Sāti or Sāta ⁵	A.	1, 2, 3, 11.	Blank. ²
		B.	1, 2, 3, 11.	2. ²
		C.	2, 3, 4, 11.	2. ³
	Sātakarṇī	A.	1, 2, 3, 11.	Blank. ⁴
		B.	1, 2, 3, 11.	2. ⁴

Of these symbols No. (9) bull and No. (10) serpent are peculiar to the *Bhāgilā* coins and they do not occur on any other coin listed above and so far known. Symbol No. (7) lotus occurs on the *Bhāgilā* coins and those of Hathadeva. But the lotus and the legend form part of the same punch in the case of the *Bhāgilā* coins. The two symbols No. (1) tree in railing and No. (3) river with fish, etc., are no doubt common to both *Bhāgilā* and *Dāmabhada* coins, but these symbols are of such a general nature that they occur on many other coins and cannot be interpreted to have any chronological implications. Symbol No. (2) Ujjain occurs on *Dāmabhada* and *Kurarā* coins and might indicate proximity between these two coins, but the Ujjain symbol occurs on other coins listed above also. However, I am inclined to assign an earlier date to the *Kurarā* coins for the reason that it was a city. The Ujjain symbol on both would suggest that they were later than the *Bhāgilā* coins. The coins of *Bhūmidata*, *Nārāyaṇamitra*, and *Hathadeva* appear to be later than the coins of *Bhāgilā*, *Kurarā* and *Dāmabhada*, while those of *Sāti* or *Sātakarṇī* are still later. I do not discuss the symbols on these coins for their relative sequence, because it does not form part of the subject of this paper.

While discussing the identity of *Bhāgilā* I had also pointed out that *Bhāgilā* holds no royal title or an honorific prefix. If *Bhāgilā* were a queen,

1. *ND. IV. i, p. 7.*
2. Collection of Shri Chauhan.
3. *JNSI. XII, pp. 94 ff, pl. X. 11.*
4. Collections of Shri Chauhan and Dr. Shankar Tiwari.
5. I still do not distinguish between *Sāta*, *Sāti* and *Sātakarṇī*. Besides the coins from Tripuri that I published (*JNSI. XIII, pp. 35 ff, pl. II. 13-14*) the coins referred to above provide further evidence in support of the identity of the two as one and the same king.

some kind of an honorific prefix, like *devī*, if not a royal title, should have been added to her name. But there is none of the either on some four dozen coins of Bhāgilā that I have so far seen. Then where is the example of a queen holding dominion anywhere in northern India in those chaotic times. I also wonder if in those times of political turmoil which had provided opportunity to cities, even villages perhaps, to assume some sort of a political power and to every adventurer to carve out some sort of a dominion practically all over northern India, a woman could have had the privilege of a royal status.

In the light of the evidence discussed above I would once again affirm, more firmly now than before, that Bhāgilā was the name of a city.

Km. Tiwari's date in the first century BC rather later, for the Bhāgilā coins is based on the arguments that the silver punch-marked coins which according to her had remained current even after the second century BC were followed by the copper punch-marked and the copper punch-marked with legend.¹ But the present chronology of the silver punch-marked coins is at best an approximation only and to think that the silver punch-marked had been displaced by the copper punch-marked and the copper punch-marked by the copper punch-marked with legend all at once would be an arbitrary conclusion. It is needless to say that the transition from one to the other was rather a slow process and presumably all these methods of minting coins had remained current for some time at least.

Therefore, the palaeography of the characters of the legend provides the only evidence to determine a reasonable chronology for these coins, to which Km. Tiwari appears to have given no thought. I have already pointed out² that the epigraphy of the legend on the Bhāgilā coins is not far distant in time from the epigraphy of the Aśokan edicts. If the epigraphy of these coins is assigned a date in the first century BC or later, we may have to change quite a bit of the chronological apparatus of ancient India and the Brāhmī script. A date about 200 BC, rather a little earlier, would then seem to be a reasonable date for these coins. The political conditions prevailing in India about the time would also accord well with this dating.

1. *ND*. IV. i, pp. 4-5.

2. *JNSI*. XIV, pp. 12-13.

It may be only briefly pointed out that Aśoka's reckless spiritual romanticism and his utopian *Dhamma-vijaya* wrecked during his own life time the imperial edifice that Chandragupta and Chanakya had raised with tremendous efforts and political acumen and what had been left of that imposing imperial edifice was chaos. Pushyamitra Śuṅga who emerged from the chaos was a brief moonshine in a dark and dreary night. He raised no empire and could not arrest the tide of chaos. His death during the Yavana invasion shattered the hopes of a revival of political order even over a very limited part of northern India and what followed his death was an age of unrestrained political adventurism. Thus between Aśoka and Pushyamitra and after Pushyamitra while cities rose to power, political adventurers fished in troubled waters. Not long after these adventurers had impinged themselves upon the city states.

Now about the sweeping statement of A. M. Shastri, that there is "absolutely no reference to the existence of such city states in indigenous literature and allusions in the classical literature are of a doubtful nature."¹ It appears that Shastri did not care to go through the details of evidence on the subject discussed by me and available from the indigenous literature or the classical sources. If we consider the evidence of the classical sources as of a doubtful nature the entire history of Alexander vis-a-vis India, the entire story of Poras about whom we learn only from the classical sources and a good part of India's story based on that source would be of a doubtful nature.

I have already drawn attention to references in Indian literature to a form of authority that was confined to a village or a city. I do not elaborate because this does not seem to be a proper occasion to do so. Similarly, the Classical sources give graphic accounts of this form of political authority which also I have briefly discussed before.

But what is rather strange about Shastri's view is that he finally concludes that 'since these coins mention only the names of the cities without specifying any organisation we shall perhaps be not far from the truth if we regard these pieces as token coins issued by the city administration for local circulation.'³ Shastri does not specify what kind of a

1. *Journal of Indian Academy of Numismatics and Sigillography* II, p. 30.

2. *JNSI*. XIII, pp. 40 ff.

3. *Journal of Indian Academy of Numismatics and Sigillography* II, p. 30.

specification the city authorities might have made on their coins. He does not also distinguish between token coins for circulation and coins as regular currency. Shastri does not also state whether the token coins issued by the cities for local circulation served any economic purpose outside the cities. If not, the find of coins of some cities far away from their original area of circulation cannot be accounted for. I do not think any further comments necessary.

I do not dispute Shastri's contention that the minting of coins was not a preserved prerogative of the state authority and guilds of traders and others also issued their coinage. But the circumstances in which this were done were altogether different and they need not prove that there were no city states and they did not issue their own coinage. On the other hand Shastri's own contention would support the fact that the city states issued their own coinage.

ON A RARE SILVER TETRA—DRACHM OF VONUNOS

V. P. S. RAO

(Pl. II. 5a-b)

The Śaka-Palhavas or the Indo-Scythian and Parthian races emigrated from the Central Asia and displaced the Bactrian-Greeks and the Indo-Bactrians in the region of Bactra in the late 2nd century and in Gandhara in the 1st century BC respectively. They, at first, removed the Bactrian-Greeks from the Bactra region, then moved downwards to Ghazni and Qandhar, popularly known in those days as Arachosia.

The Vonunos group of the Indo-Scythic rulers settled in the Arachosia region and ruled over there. Maus and Azes group entered the Indus-Valley through the Bolan pass. They measured swords with the Indo-Bactrians in the Gandhara region and pushed them to the South-East of the Ravi. The latter group made Pushkalavati (modern Peshawar) and Taxila their main strong-holds and minted their coins at both these places, while the Vonunos group minted their coins in the Arachosia region e. g. west of the Indus.

In 1922, author's father, Shri Rao Uttam Singhji, travelled up to the Khyber pass and acquired some silver tetra-drachms and drachms of the Indo-Scythic rulers viz. Vonunos, Azes and Azilises at a village near the entrance of the Khyber pass. Tetra-drachms of Azes formed the majority in this acquisition. Silver coins of Azes were minted at Pushkalavati and Taxila. The Pushkalavati coins have square omicron while those of Taxila have round omicron.

The silver Tetra-drachm of Vonunos is described here under :—

Obverse : Equestrian portrait of Vonunos, holding spear to right. Greek legend, $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ}$.

Reverse : Zeus is standing facing, holding thunderbolt in right hand and long scepter in the left hand. Legend is in Kharoshthi, *Maharajubhadrakumārakasaśpalakomasa* (Pl. II. 5a-b)

There is only one more silver tetra-drachm of Vonunos, which is in the British Museum, London. The other one, which has been described above, is in our collection. Its weight is 143 grains and size, 1.1". The weight of British Museum tetra-drachm is 144.5 grains and the size is 1.05". Monograms on both these tetra-drachms are different. Monogram on the British Museum coin is on the right, while that on the reverse of our coin is on the left. The illustration of the coin is also given here.

The Indo-Scythian and Parthian coins are found in the region north of the river Ravi upto Arachosia i. e. Kandhar.

SOME RARE INDO-GREEK SILVER COINS

RAO UTTAM SINGH

(Pls. III. 3-7 & IV. 1-9)

In 1981, we acquired some Indo-Greek tetra-drachms and drachms of Indian weight. These coins are occasionally still found at the ruined sites of old towns and forts in the region lying between the rivers Ravi and Jamuna up to Saharanpur along the foot-hills of the Sivalik range after heavy showers. Some of our recent acquisitions are described below :—

(A) TETRA—DRACHMS

1. Strato I :

It bears the helmeted bust of the king to left, with javelin. It weighs 155 grains and is 1.05" in size.

Only one coin of this type was hitherto known. It is stated to be in possession of Mr. H. De. S. Shortt. The word ΣΘΤΗΡΟΣ is wrongly written as ΣΘΤΗΡΟΥ on the obverse of that coin, but on the coin that we have acquired the word is correctly written as ΣΘΤΗΡΟΣ. The full legend runs as follows :—

Obverse : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΘΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, below ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ

Reverse : Pallas with thunderbolt to left, and Kharoshthi legend.

Pl. III. 3.

2. Philoxenos :

It weighs 162 grains and the size is .95". One coin of this type is extant in the British Museum and another is in the Berlin Museum.

Obverse : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ. The bust of the king is helmeted. He is throwing javeline to left.

Reverse : The king of riding a prancing horse to right. Kharoshthi legend.

Pl. III. 4.

3. Hippostratos :

These are of three types as described below :

(i) *Obverse* : Diadomed bust of the king to right, with the legend

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΘΤΗΡΟΣ ΛΕΩΤΡΑΤΟΥ

Reverse : City goddess to left, with Kharoshthi legend.

Its weight is 148 grains and size 1.1".

Pl. III. 5.

- (ii) It weighs 157 grains and the size is 1.1".

Obverse : Diadomed bust of the king to right, with the legend
BAΣIΔEΩΣ MEΓAΛY ΣΩTHPΩΣ IππΩTPATΩY.

Reverse : King riding a prancing horse to right with Kharoshthi legend.

Pl. III. 6.

- (iii) The weight is 137 grains and size 1.1".

Obverse : Same as on (ii).

Reverse : King riding a walking horse, and the Kharoshthi legend.

Pl. III. 7.

(B) DRACHMS

1. Apollodotos I :

It is square in shape. Its weight is 39 grains and size .6" x .65".

Obverse : Elephant walking to right. The legend is BAΣIΔEΩΣ
(left) AπOΛΛOΔOTOY (top) ΣΩTHPOΣ (right)

Reverse : Bull to right, with Kharoshthi legend.

Pl. IV. 1.

2. Apollodotos II :

- (i) The weight is 31 grains and size .65".

Obverse : Diadomed bust of the king to right. The legend is
BAΣIΔEΩΣ ΣΩTHPOΣ AπOΛΛOAOTOY (below)

Reverse : Pallas standing, with thunderbolt, with Kharoshthi legend.

Pl. IV. 2.

- (ii) The weight is 35 grains and size .7"

Obverse : Diadomed bust of the king to right. Greek legend,
BAΣIΔEΩΣ ΣΩTHPOΣ KAIΦIΛOπATOPOΣ and below,
AπOΛΛOΔOTOY.

Reverse : Pallas, standing, hurling thunderbolt, with Kharoshthi legend.

Pl. IV. 3.

3. Menander :

- (i) The weight is 41 grains and size .7"

Obverse : Helmeted bust of king to right. Greek legend above,
BAΣIΔEΩΣ ΣΩTHPOΣ and below, MENANΔPOY.

Reverse : Pallas standing with Kharoshthi legend, *Maharjasa tratarasa Menadrassa*.

Pl. IV. 4.

- (ii) The weight is 33 grains and size .65".

Obverse : Helmeted bust of the king.

Legend same as above.

Reverse : Same as above.

Pl. IV. 5.

- (iii) The weight is 43 grains and size .65".

Obverse : Diadomed bust of the king to right.

Legend same as above.

Reverse : Same as above.

Pl. IV. 6.

4. Antialcidas, King of Taxila :

- (i) Weight is 37 grains and size .6".

Obverse : Helmeted bust of the king to right.

The legend is $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\Sigma$ $\text{NIKH}\phi\text{OPOY}$ $\text{ANTIA}\Lambda\text{KI}\Delta\text{OY}$ (below).

Reverse : Zeus enthroned, with Kharoshthi legend, *Maharajasa jayadharasa Antialcidasa*.

Pl. IV. 7.

- (ii) The weight is 37 grains and size .65".

Obverse : King bearing flat kausia. Legend same as above.

Reverse : Same as above.

Pl. IV. 8.

5. Antimachos Nikephoros :

It weighs 37 grains and is .6" in size.

Obverse : Winged Nike to left, with palm and fillet. The legend is $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{I}\Lambda\text{E}\Omega\Sigma$ (sight) $\text{NIKH}\phi\text{OPOY}$ (below) ANTIMAXOY (left).

Reverse : King on prancing horse to right, with Kharoshthi legend, *Maharajasa jayadharasa Antimakhasa*.

Pl. IV. 9.

A NEW BODDO TYPE GOLD COIN OF KANISHKA

K. D. BAJPAI

(Pi. III. 2a-b)

During the course of my recent explorations in connection with my project on ancient coins of Madhya Pradesh, I came across at Rajgarh, the headquarter of a district of the same name, a rare gold stater coin of the Kushāṇa emperor Kanishka. The owner of the coin informed me that the coin was obtained by him from a villager of the district. The actual find-place of the coin is not known. The owner has kindly permitted me to publish it.¹

The coin has carefully been examined by me and by some expert goldsmiths, and we have no doubt that it is a genuine coin. Its gold contents are about 93%. I describe the coin below :

Boddo type coin of Kanishka

Metal—gold (with very small quantity of admixture)

Size—round, 2.05 cms.

Wt.—121 grains.

Obverse : Full portrait of the bearded king Kanishka standing to left, pouring oblations with the right hand over an artistic altar. He is attired in long tunic, trousers and boots. In place of a tall, tufted helmet, he wears a prominent tiara crown covering his entire head. On his neck one-stringed garland (*ekāvalī*) is visible. Instead of the usual spear, he holds a long *triśūla* in his left hand, the three prongs of which are very clear at the top. An unusual feature of the *triśūla* is that a pearl garland is tastefully attached to the staff of *triśūla* held by the king. The garland fills the blank on the left side of the king. Flames are shown arising from king's right shoulder. There was a bead decoration on the border of the coin. Six dots of the same can be seen between the extended legs of the king.

The border Greek legend starting at 7 o'clock and ending at 5 o'clock reads :

Shaonānoshao K[a]nishkī Koshāno.

1. This discovery was brought to the notice of the scholars by me assembled at the Sambalpue Session of the Numismatic Society.

Reverse : Within bead border (which is perfectly preserved) in the centre stands facing figure of the Buddha with the bracket-like nimbus on both sides of the head. The head is covered with a semi-circular cover, which looks like a *kantopā* of some present day monks. It does not look like a second nimbus, as wrongly supposed by some on such figures of the Buddha. The head of the Buddha on the present coin looks like a conch with the lower point placed on the torso. Over each of the shoulders is a small dot. The right hand of the deity is held up in front of the chest with a small dot over it. This hand is not held in the *abhayamudrā*. In the left hand he holds a clear round object resembling a pomegranate fruit. It presumably represents the begging bowl of the Buddha. Like the feet of Kanishka on the obverse, feet of the Buddha are placed apart. To the left of the deity in the centre is prominently shown the Kushāṇa symbol.

The Buddha wears a *dhoti*, *uttarīya* and *sanghāṭī*. These three garments are clearly indicated by prominent lines.

The Greek legend on the left is written from left to right very clearly. It reads *Boddo*. (Plate III. 2b)

The present coin marks a remarkable new discovery in the field of ancient Indian numismatics.

One *Boddo* stater gold coin of Kanishka was published in the *British Museum Catalogue* by P. Gardner.¹ It was discovered in a Buddhist stūpa at Ahin-posh near Jalalabad in Afghanistan. Cunningham also published that coin, along with seven copper coins of Kanishka. About the Buddha's figure on the gold coin, Cunningham remarked that it carried "alms-bowl in left hand; right hand advanced to front, as if in act of blessing. This is one of the usual attitudes of the standing figures of Buddha."²

On a close examination of the British Museum gold coin, it would appear that the right hand is not in the act of blessing (*abhayamudrā*). It

1. *BMC*, Pl. XXVI, no 8.

2. *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, etc. Part III, *Coins of the Kushāṇas* (London, 1892), pp. 42-44, 1 5-6, pl. XVIII, 7 (the gold coin); same plate, no. 8-10, 12-14 (copper coins). The gold stater coin was reproduced by Whitehead, See *PMC*, pl. XX no. 7.

3. *Ibid.* p. 42. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

is held in front of the chest in the same manner as found on the new gold coin described above. The nimbus is not formed by 3 arcs, as wrongly supposed by some scholars. The head-gear of the deity can be seen on the British Museum coin also. The so-called begging bowl of the Buddha on the BM coin is smaller than that found on the new coin.

About the figure of the Buddha on coins, Cunningham's following observations are noteworthy :

"The coins with the figure of Buddha are extremely rare. He is represented both standing and sitting, but only on the coins of Kanishka. The gold coin, which is unique, was found in the stūpa, at Ahin-posh, near Jalalabad, and two copper pieces were found in Ventura's Manikyala Stūpa. These three are all of the standing type. I have obtained only three specimens of the sitting type during my long career. On the gold coin the legend is simply BODDO=Buddha. On the copper coins the legend is longer, and is rather difficult to read, as the latter part is reversed in boustrophedon order. Beginning at the upper left hand I read *CAKAMA*, continued from the lower right in reverse order, *NOBOYDO*. For this reading I am indebted to Mr. Rapson."¹

The new stater coin is a little bigger in size than that of the British Museum, which is 0.8 inches in diameter and 109.2 grains in weight. The new coin weighs 121 grains, which can well be compared with the weight of several known gold stater coins of Kanishka I.

The present coin is from a different die. This is clear from the size and the obverse & reverse details. The tiara (*trimukuta*) on the head of Kanishka on the new coin replaces the usual tall, tufted helmet of the ruler. Similarly, the buckled sword and the elephant goad are also conspicuous by their absence on the new coin. On the other hand, the new features, viz. king's neck ornament (*ekāvalī*), *triśūla* and the artistic hanging garland, associate with the staff, surmounted by the *triśūla*, are noteworthy indeed. So also is the artistic form of the altar (*vedī*).

On the reverse of the new coin the figure of the Buddha is quite clear. The head of the Buddha resembling a *śaṅkha*,² wearing a round

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

2. This type of head of a deity can be seen on some Yaudheya coins. See K. D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies* (Delhi, 1976), pp. 32-3, pl. II, 7; III, 2.

cover, is remarkable. The deity stands in *samabhaṅga*. Both his hands are much more distinct here than on other such coins. The right hand is not held in the attitude of blessing (*abhayamudrā*), as wrongly thought by Cunningham. On the new coin the small ball-like bowl held in the left hand of the Buddha is quite clear.¹

As regards the identification of the deity on the present type of gold coins of Kanishka I, the figure undoubtedly represents the Buddha. The iconography of the Buddha on the present coin indicates some new features, not met with in the Kuṣhāṇa and later known images of the Buddha. My own opinion in this regard is that the representation of the Buddha on the gold stater coins of Kanishka I may have preceded the depiction of the Buddha in the typical attitude of protection (*abhayamudrā*) on a number of stone sculptures.

In so far as the representation of the deity on the copper currency is concerned, I agree with the view of Cribb that some of the figures occurring on the reverse of the copper coins of Kanishka represent Bodhisattva Maitreya. His reading of the legend on Kanishka's copper coins no. 12 and 14² as *METRAUO BOUDO* is quite convincing.³ The word *Metrauo* here stands for Maitreya.

It may, therefore be stated that whereas on the gold coins of Kanishka, the deity represented was the Buddha, on his copper coins both the Śākyamuni Buddha and Maitreya (designated as Buddha) found a place of recognition.

1. In a recent article Joe Cribb says that the left hand of the Buddha (on the BM Boddo stater coin) holds handful of cloak (*sanghāṭī*). He also speaks of a topknot (*ushnīṣa*) and a nimbus in three arcs on that coin. See his article 'Kaniska's Buddha Coins—The official Iconography of Śākyamuni & Maitreya, *J. of International Asson. of Buddhist Studies* (1980), Vol. III, no. 2, pp. 79-88 with plates.
2. Cunningham, *op. cit.* pl. VIII, fig. 12 and 14.
3. Cribb, *op. cit.* p. 80 and ff.

A NOTE ON RE-STRUCK AND RE-USED KUSHĀṆA AND YAUDHEYA COINS

DEVENDRA HANDA

(Pl. II. 6 a-b, III. 1 a-b.)


B. N. Mukherjee¹ and Manmohan Kumar² have brought to light some Kushāṇa copper coins re-struck and re-used by the Yaudheyas. These coins carry Yaudheya devices on parts of obverse or reverse or both, which clearly seem to have been revetted to the blanks prepared from the Kushāṇa coins from which the original devices had been peeled off. Both the scholars thus hold that the Yaudheyas were not only influenced by the Kushāṇa coin-types but actually re-struck and re-used them.

In my collection I have got two Kushāṇa copper coins which show similar features. Their details are as follows :—

1. AE, Round, 2.37 cms. × 0.38 cm., 11.2632 gms.

Obverse : King standing to l.; clad in coat and trousers; extending r. h. over altar; spear in raised l. h. (not very clear).

Reverse : Male figure (some deity) to r.; clad in chiton; holding

spear in l. h.; r. h. akimbo, to r.  .³ (Pl. II. 6a-b)

2. AE, Round, 2.45 cms. × 0.36 cm., 11.4104 gms.

Obverse : As above

Reverse : Male figure (deity) to l.; r. h. extended; l. h. akimbo.
(Pl. III. 1a-b)

Though the details of these coins are lost yet the typical Kushāṇa figures on both the sides are so distinct that there cannot be any doubt regarding the coins being Kushāṇa. The obverse of No. 1 and the reverse of No. 2 show revetted patches as seen on some of the Yaudheya coins referred to above. Unlike the Yaudheya coins which show revetting on both

1. *JNSI*, XL, pp. 92-93.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95, Pl. I. 1.4.

3. It shows slight variation from the usually found monograms.

the sides, these coins have been revetted on one side only, preserving the original of the other. The revetted sides also bears Kushāṇa devices. The Yaudheyas are said to have re-used and re-struck Kushāṇa coins.¹ But why were the Kushāṇa coins re-used and re-struck by the Kushāṇas themselves is a problemetic question.

To me it appears that the re-used coins are neither the official issues of the Yaudheyas² nor those of the Kushāṇas. They are the creation of imitators and counter feiterers.

1. Kushāṇa coins were so common and readily available that had the Yaudheyas re-used and re-struck them, they would have been known in large numbers.
2. Dr. Mukherjee has also observed that a few of the coins re-used and re-struck by the Yaudheyas were "tinged with gold, probably with the intention of getting them circulated as gold pieces." If this be so, it will not be illogical to think that these coins were prepared probably during the Gupta period when gold currency was quite popular and some of the Yaudhey coins were still in circulation but the people had forgotten the fact that the Yaudheyas never issued gold coins.

A NOTE ON SILVER COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA I AND KUMĀRADEVI

O. P. SINGH

(Pl. IV. 10)

Recently I have noticed a silver coin of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī in the collection of Sri Raja Ram Gupta, a Banker in Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. Earlier, A. L. Srivastava reported a silver coin¹ and Y. B. Singh has referred to three silver coins² of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī. The latter has not produced the photographs of the coins. However, we propose to discuss the coin noticed by me.

The description of the coin is as follows :

Silver; Diameter : 2.02 cms; Weight : 3.560 gms. (approximate) or 55 grains (approximate); Thickness : .152 cm.

Obverse : The king and queen, both nimbate, standing face to face. The king on the right, wearing long, conical, closefitting coat, trousers with prominent buttons and head-dress decked with a pearl-string. He wears ear-rings, necklace, armlets and bracelets and holds in left hand a standard, probably a crescent-topped which is off the flan, adorned with fillets. His right hand is offering an object to the queen who is decked with a *sārī*, an upper garment (*uttariya*) and a closefitting pearled head-dress. She also wears ear-rings and necklace. Her right hand is on the waist and left one hanging down. There is a crescent between the nimbuses of the king and the queen.

Between the king and the queen, on the ground, there is fire flame emerging from base which on account of corrison is not distinct.³ Between the legs of the king *Brāhmī* letter *la* may be seen.⁴

1. *JNSI*, XXXVII, pts I-II, pp. 83-84.

2. *Ibid*, XLI, Pts. I-II. p. 47.

3. A. L. Srivastava describes it as 'an elongated triangle with a number of dots but without base. It cannot be correctly identified, but in it may perhaps be recognised fire-flames of the altar which could not be accomodated for want of space'. *op. cit.*, p. 83.

4. A. L. Srivastava describes it as a V shaped object which is not acceptable.

Legend : Under the left arm of the king, vertically written, *Chandra*, outside the standard, also vertically written *gu* and *pa* (*Gupta*). Behind the queen letters *ku*, *ma*, *ra*, *da*, and *va* may be read (*Kumāradevī*).

Reverse : Goddess,¹ nimbate, wearing a bodice, *sārī* shawl (*uttariya*) over her shoulders, a round pearl-bordered head-dress, bangles and necklace, seated facing on a lion couchant to right. She holds a noose in right hand and the cornucopie in the left one. Her feet rest on a circular pearl-studded mat. Behind the goddess, the traces of throne may be seen.

Legend : On right of the goddess *Brāhmī* letters *La*, *chchha*, *va* and *yaḥ* i. e. *Lichchhavayaḥ*.

In the upper left quadrant is a symbol.

However, a close scrutiny of the coin reveals the following facts :

- (i) As far as the symbol on the reverse is concerned, it is similar to that which occurs on other reported silver coins of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī. Thus these silver issues are the products of the same mint. These issues testify to the fact that the silver coins in the Gupta dynasty were originated by Chandragupta I in the Gangetic Valley.
- (ii) The coin weighing 55 grains conforms the weight standard of silver *kārshāpaṇa*.
- (iii) The fire-flame between the legs of the king and queen is worthy of notice. The figure of Chandragupta I is to the left of Kumāradevī. In Hindu society, after the *pāṇigrahaṇa samskāra* wife comes in the left side of husband. Before this sacrament she sits in the right side of bridegroom. Obviously, on the obverse of the coin the figure of Kumāradevī has been shown in the right of the figure of Chandragupta I. Thus the presence of fire-flame is indicative of the marriage scene."

1. In my humble opinion, the goddess may be identified with Sarvamaṅgalā. For details see Singh O. P., *Bulletin of Archaeological Museum*, U. P., 1976, pp. 21-22; *Religion And Iconography On Early Indian Coins*. pp. 25-28.

2. [For a detailed elaboration of this point see V. S. Pathaks article in *JNSI*, XIX, p. 135 ff. T. PV.]

- (iv) The occurrence of the *Brāhmī* letter *la* between the feet of chandragupta I is also significant.¹ *La* may stand for *Lichchhavis*. Though it seems to be far-fetched conclusion.² However, if we, for the time being, accept it, it seems more plausible to think that the Lichchhavi territory came under the royal umbrella of Chandragupta I.

In the light of above discussion, one suggestion may be advanced that the legend *Lichchhavayah* on the reverse illustrates the fact that the Lichchhavis issued commemorative silver medals at the time of marriage of Kumāradevī with Chandragupta I and gave the state in dowry to the Gupta ruler. That is why *Brāhmī la* occupies the place between the feet of Chandragupta I. However, we do not have any positive proof that the Lichchhavis ever minted the coins or medals.

The goddess seated on the lion has been identified by me elsewhere with *Sarvamaṅgalā*.³ It is quite in the fitness of the contemporary social and political circumstances. For all-round welfare and prosperity of the newly amalgamated powers the figure of *Sarvamaṅgalā* on the reverse was justified because she is harbinger of happiness.

1. The occurrence of some *Brāhmī* letter, on the obverse, may be seen even on the coinage of the Later Kushāṇas. Thus the practice of putting *Brāhmī* letter was already in vogue in the numismatic field.
2. Sometimes, the occurrence of *Brāhmī* letter is meaningful cf., the *Brāhmī* letters *dvi* and *tri* appearing on the reverse of the Yaudheya coins. These symbolise the number of states in the confederation of Yaudheyas. It is suggested that the Yaudheyas made a confederation with Kuṇḍas and Audumbaras against the Kushāṇa power.
3. According to the *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, she sits on a lion and has four arms and carries *akshasūtra*, *padma*, *śūla*, and *kamaṇḍala*.
Chaturbāhuḥ prakartavyā simhahastā Sarvamaṅgalā !
Akshasūtram kajam dakshe śūla kuṇḍidharottare. !!

Vide Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*. Vol. I. pt. II (second edition) p. 118.

True that the goddess on the coins holds only a cornucopiae (or lotus on the Lion-slayer types of Chandragupta II) and a noose, but it appears that the figures probably represent a evolutionary stage of the iconography of *Sarvamaṅgalā*. Singh, O. P., *Religion And Iconography On Early Indian Coins*, p. 27. also *Bulletin of Archaeological Museum*, II, P. 1976, pp. 21-22.

These silver coins closely resemble with similar gold coins of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī. However, the differences may be noticed :

- (i) The symbol on the upper left quadrant of the silver coins differs to that of gold one.
- (ii) The *Brāhmī* letter *la* does not occur between the feet of the king on the gold coins.

Thus the silver and gold coins, though having identical obverse and reverse devices, are product of different mints.

Peeping into these silver and gold coins of Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī, it may be suggested that at first stage, probably at the time of the marriage or a little later, Chandragupta I issued silver coins having more influence of the Kushāṇa coins, e. g.; the occurrence of *Brāhmī* letter, name of the ruler written vertically under the left arm, use of coat, trousers and boots, traces of back of throne behind the goddess. It goes contrary to Allan's suggestion that in comparison to the Chandragupta I and Kumaradevi type, the Standard type of Samudragupta's gold coins show much Kushāṇa influence because the occurrence of *Brāhmī* letter on the obverse, one of the important characteristic features of the Later Kushāṇa coins, is not found on the standard or other types of Samudragupta.

Nonoccurrence of the *Brāhmī* letters on the gold coins suggests that these pieces were issued after the silver currency. Thus on the basis of above discussion it appears more plausible that the silver coins having more Kushāṇa influence are the earliest issues of Chandragupta I and may be considered to be the prototype of the gold coins of the same ruler.

PAGĀRĀ HOARD OF GUPTA GOLD COINS

S. K. BAJPAI

(Pl. IV. 11-14, V. 1-5)

The present hoard containing nine gold coins of the Gupta kings, thirty nine silver coins of the Kshatrapa rulers and a round gold ring was found at Pagārā village on the 3rd April, 1981 by a Dhan Kuwarbai Mankar, a village girl who was digging a field. This village lies 8 kms NW of Dharampuri, 25 kms from Dhamnod and 100 kms from Indore in the Manawar tehsil of Dhar district in Madhya Pradesh. This hoard came under the custody of the Police Station of Dharampuri.

Being informed by the District Collector, Dhar, the Archaeology & Museums Department of Madhya Pradesh Govt. sent a team consisting of Sarvashri V. K. Bajpai, R. S. Garg and D. K. Mahashabde on the find-spot to examine the newly discovered coins and laying down the trial trenches for salvaging, if any, more finds. After getting a preliminary report, the District Collector, Dhar handed over the complete hoard to the State Department of Archaeology under the provision of Indian Treasure Trove Act of 1878 and afterwards it came to me for a study.

The Pagārā village is enriched with a good collection of sculptural and architectural remains right from Maurya to Medieval periods. The discovery of present hoard testifies the importance of this centre during 4-5th centuries AD.

All the coins are in a fairly good condition. Out of the coins of this hoard, the gold coins of Gupta kings are studied here. They are classified as follows :

1. *Kācha Type*¹

No.	: One
Wt.	: 7.335 gms.
Size	: 1.97 x 2.05 cms.
Thickness	: 2.75 mms.

1. See the same types in John Allan's *Catalogue*, p. 15-16, pl. II : 6-13; *JASB*, 1884, p. 170; *JRAS*, 1889, p. 74.

Obverse : King standing to left, wearing close fitting coat, trousers, head dress, ear-rings and armlets, holding *chakradhvaja* in left hand and sprinkling incense on altar with right hand. 'Kācha' is inscribed beneath left arm. *Garuda* standard before him. Border legend : 'Kācho gām avajitya divaṁ karmabhir uttamair jayati'.

Reverse : Goddess (Lakshmī) standing to left, wearing loose robe, holding lotus in right hand and cornucopiae in left hand border of dots and symbol on left. Legend : 'Sarvarājo-chchhettā.' Pl. IV. 11.

2. Archer Type of Chandragupta II¹

No. : Five

Wt. : 8.192 gms.; 7.827 gms.; 7.843 gms.; 7.700 gms.; 7.867 gms.

Size : 1.83 × 1.90 cms.; 1.93 × 1.82 cms.; 2.04 × 2.06 cms.; 1.85 × 1.88 cms.; 1.86 × 1.81 cms.

Thickness : 2.78 mms.; 3.04 mms.; 2.36 mms.; 2.63 mms.; 3.05 mms.

Obverse : King standing left, nimbate, wearing coat, trousers and close fitting cap ear-rings, necklace and armlets, holding outwards bow in left hand and arrow in right, *Garuda* standard bound with fillet on left. 'Chandra' under left arm between bow and king. Legend : *Deva Śrī mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandraguptah* (In some of the coins legend is not complete).

Reverse : Lakshmī, seated facing, nimbate, on throne with high back, as on similar coins of Samudragupta, holding cornucopiae in left hand fillet in right, her feet rests on lotus, symbol on left. Legend : *Śrī Vikramah*. Pl. IV. 12.

3. Lion-Slayer Type of Chandragupta II²

No. : One

Wt. : 7.857 gms.

Size : 1.99 × 1.97 cms.

Thickness : 2.91 mms.

Obverse : King standing left, wearing waist-cloth which floats behind him, head-dress and jewellery, shooting with bow in right

1. Similar to class II, unlike var. a and b bow string outward. *op. cit.*, p. 24-25, pl. VI-1 to 5.

2. Similar to class I, *Ibid*, p. 38, var. a and b, pl VIII, p. 11-13.

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hand at lion which falls backwards and trampling on lion with one foot. Legend : '(Nare)ndrachandra(h)prathita (ra ?) divaṁ ja.....vikramaḥ'

Reverse : Goddess (Lakshmī-Ambikā) seated, nimbate, facing left, holding cornucopiae in left hand and right hand out stretched, border of dots. Symbol on left. Legend : 'Śimhavigramaḥ'. Pl. IV. 13.

4. Chattra Type of Chandragupta II¹

No. : One
Wt. : 7.848 gms.
Size : 1.85 × 1.87 cms.
Thickness : 2.78 mms.

Obverse : King standing left, apparently casting incense on altar with right hand as on similar gold coins and left hand placed on sword-hilt, behind him a dwarf attendant holding *chattra* (parasol) over him. Legend : 'Mahārājā-dhirāja Śrī Chandraguptaḥ'.

Reverse : Goddess (Lakshmi) standing left on lotus pedestal and holding fillet in right and lotus in left hand, border of dots. Legend : 'Vikramādityaḥ'.

5. Archer Type of Kumāragupta I²

No. : One
Wt. : 7.961 gms.
Size : 1.92 × 2.15 cms.
Thickness : 2.64 mms.

Obverse : King standing, nimbate, to left wearing waist-cloth and jewellery, holding arrow in right hand and bow in left hand as on 'Archer Type' of Chandragupta II, bow string outwards, *Garuda* standard on left, below left arm 'Kumāra'. Border legend is not visible.

Reverse : Goddess, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding fillet in out stretched right hand and lotus in left which rests on hip, border of dots, symbol on left. Legend : 'Śrī Mahendraḥ'.

1. *Op. cit.*, Type I, pl. VIII, 1, p. 34.

2. *Ibid*, var. E, p. 64, p. XII. 7; *JRAS*, 1893, p. 117.

Editor's Note

The author of the article deserves our congratulations for bringing into light Gupta Gold Coins from Pagārā hoard. However, following fact may be added here :

1. *Kācha Type* :

According to the author, there is a *Garuḍa* standard before the king. But there is no *Garuḍa* standard at all. Bayana hoard, for the first time discloses the occurrence of it on the obverse. See A. S. Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold coins In the Bayana Hoard*, pl. VII. 11. Further a circular legend on the obverse may be read only *Kācho ga (ma) vajatya* to the left of the king. To the right side the letters *trama ja* are clearly visible. Moreover, after *kācho*, the letter *ga* is double struck. Which is certainly very interesting. The legend on the reverse may be read as *(Sa) rvarājochchhetā*.

2. *Archer Type of Chandragupta II*

As for as the Archer Type of Chandragupta II is concerned, according to author the obverse shows the king wearing trousers. But except on one variety the king has been shown wearing *dhoti* on the others. Further the reading of the legends of the obverse is not correct as the author reads—*Deva Śrī Mahārājadhirāja Śrī Chahdraguptaḥ*. On only one coin it is *guptaḥ*. On second coin the legend is merely *Deva Śrī mahā*.....while on other three coins the legend is out of flan. Moreover, the legends on the reverse of coins may be read as follows :

Coins (1) *Śrī Vikra*

Coins (2) *Śrī Vakramaḥ*

Coins (3) *Vakramah*

Coins (4) *Varmama*

Coins (5) *blurred*

3. *Lion-Slayer Type of Chandragupta II*

According to the author the legend on the obverse of the coins is *(Nare)ndra chandra(h) prathita(ra ?) divaṁ ja.....vikramaḥ*. But the legend may be read as *ndra Chandra pra (thita) raṇaraṇe.....sin(gh) Vakramaḥ*.

4. *Chhatra Type*

The author reads the legend on the obverse as *Mahārājadhirāja Śrī Chandraguptaḥ*. However, the legend is merely *kshiti(me).....Kramāditya*.

FIVE SILVER COINS OF TWO INDEPENDENT BENGAL SULTANS

GUARISANKAR DE.

(Pl. V. 6-7)

The War of Liberation of Bangla Desh (1971) opened a new channel to the coin collectors of West Bengal and Tripura. Thousands of people, for fear of life, crossed the hostile border of East Bengal to the friendly India, some taking with them dear and precious articles, including some gold and silver coins, lying in their ancestral possession for generations. Some of the poor, helpless, and starving persons had to sell a considerable number of these coins to the jewellers of the border towns of India at a nominal price or just for a handful of rice.

The present writer purchased five silver coins from a jeweller's shop at Habra, a township 27 miles away from Calcutta—three coins issued by Ilyās Shāh and two by Sikandar Shāh of Bengal.

The reign of Shams-ud-din Ilyās Shāh (AD 1342-1358) was marked by peace and prosperity which are attested by the inauguration of 'a national and typical coinage'.¹ Ilyās Shāh struck coins in his own name as early as AH 740 and AH 744, when Ālā-Ud-din Āli Shāh still ruled in Ferozabad.² It was probably in the year AD 1345, that Ilyās murdered Āli Shāh and usurped the throne of Gauda.³ His silver coins, with the dates AH 753 and 754 and 755-58 minted at Suvarṇagrāma, have been discovered.⁴

Ilyās minted coins at Shāhr-i-nau (on the Ganges), a place not yet identified,⁵ his other mints being at Ferozabad (Pāṇḍuā) and Suvarṇagrāma. He also issued some gold coins.⁶

1. Majumdar, Raychandhuri and Datta, *An Advanced History of India*, p. 344.
2. Thomas, *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, p. 62.
3. R. D. Banerji, *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, pt. II, p. 96.
4. Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 63.
5. H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. II, pt. II, p. 152, Nos. 35-36.
6. R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.* p. 97.

The following is the description of the coin no. I under discussion :

Metal	: silver;	
Shape	: round;	
Size	: 29 mm in diameter;	
Weight	: 10.50 grammes;	
Script	: Arabic;	Pl. V. 6.

Obverse : *Al Sultān al Ghāzi Shāms al Dnniya Wā al Din Ābu al Muzāffar Ilyās Shāh al Sultān.*

Reverse : *Sikhāndār-i-sani Yāmin Khilāfat Nāsir Āmirul Mominin.*

Coin No. 2. and 3. bear the same legends but their size is 25 mm in diameter.

As usual with the coins of Bengal Sultans, the coin under discussion, begins with *Al Sultan*, then follows the accession name and the title *Ābu al Muzāffar*, and then follows the proper name of the king with the titles *Shāh* and *al Sultan*. *Shams-ud-din Ilyās Shāh*, following Āla-ud-din Muhammad of Delhi, called himself *The Second Alexander*. The legend *Sikandar-i-sani* on the reverse of the present coin also indicates this.

Two other silver coins collected by the present writer from the above-mentioned source belong to the reign of Sikandar Shāh (c. 1358-90).

The following is the description of coin no. 4 and 5 :

Metal	: silver;	
Shape	: round;	
Size	: 31 mm in diameter;	
Weight	: 12-18 grammes;	
Script	: Arabic	Pl. V. 7.

Obverse : *Ābu al Mujāhid Sikāndār Shāh Ibn Ilyās Shāh al Sultān.*

Reverse : Reading of area : *Yāmin Khilāfat Nāsir Āmirul Muminin.*

Reading of margin : *Ghāus al Islām wā al Muslimin Khallad Mulkah.*

The coinage assumes a characteristic local type under Sikandar, son of the founder of the house of Ilyās. The coins of Sikandar display

variety of design, the Sultān's name and titles being enclosed in circles, squares, octagons, sometimes with multifoil borders or scalloped edges.¹

Margins occur more usually on the reverse only, sometimes on both sides. The Sultan's name and titles are enclosed, in coin no. 4 and 5, under discussion, in hexagon and multifoil border respectively. The name of Ilyās Shāh, the father of Sikandar, also appears in the legend of the obverse. Neither inscriptions nor coins give Sikāndār Shah a full *julus* name. He only has a *Kunyah*, *Ābul Mujāhid*. Ilyās naturally called his son Sikandar. But, Blochmann suggests that as Sikandar is the legendary successor of Ilyās (the Prophet Eliās) in search of the precious commodity, the name of the father may have suggested that of the son.²

1. C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 80.

2. H. Blochmann, *Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal*, p. 51.

A COPPER COIN OF A NEW SULTAN

LALMAN

(Pl. V. 11)

Recently a copper coin of a new sultan has come to my notice and is being published here.

Description of the coin :

Shape	: Round
Size	: 1.9 cms.
Thickness	: 0.2 cms.
Weight	: 2.770 gms. (= 43 grains)
Find spot	: Unknown
Obverse	: In dotted circle, standing bull to right with some indistinct letters above.
Reverse	: In dotted circle

السلطان (ال)	As-sultān (al)*
عظمى الورى (مفضل بن قاسم)	'Azam abu-al (fazl or fath)*
مجلس شاه	Majlis shā (h).

The name on the reverse may be read as Majlis Shah of whom nothing is known to us. Coins of this type were issued by the Ghazanvides, the Delhi Sultans and their contemporaries in Sind. The depiction of bull resembles very much with that on the coins of Iltutmish's predecessors. It is not impossible that the present coin may have been issued by a sultan who ruled over Panjab for a short time (and could issue only a limited number of coins) during the confusion that resulted after the deposition of Aibak's son by Iltutmish. However, the possibility of its being an issue of some Ghazanvide potentate is as plausible as the above mentioned hypothesis.

A NOTE ON COPPER COINS OF SHAMSUDDIN KAIUMARAS

P. P. KULKARNI

(Pl. V. 12)

Copper coins of Shamsuddin Kaiumaras, the last king of the Turk rulers of Delhi are very rare. Only one such coin is published.¹ The coin belongs to the cabinet of British Museum and is in a poor condition. Its legend is follows :—

Obverse :

شمس الد
نيا والدين Shams al du
niya wa aldin

Reverse :

السلطان
الاعظم Al sultan
ul azim

A coin of similar type belonging to the same king is in my possession. But there are dissimilarities between the two coins also, i. e., the coin retained in BM and the coin which is in my possession. The reverse of the BM coin is not illustrated, but from the obverse it can be inferred that the coin discussed here is having a different arrangement of legend. The coin is described as follows :—

Weight 3.205 gramms

Size 1.3 cms.

Obverse :

شمس الدنيا
والدين Shams al duniya
wa al din

1. H. Nelson Wright *The Coinage and Metrology of Sultans of Delhi*, p. 66 No. 279A. It is mentioned in the footnote that a similar coin is with A. N. S. which depicts date in the margin.

Reverse :

السلطان

Al sultan

Ul azim

Pl. V. 12

It is evident that this coin is copied from the coins of his predecessor kings viz., Nasiruddin Mahmud, Ghiyasuddin Balban and Muizuddin Kaikubad. Even the small circular mark to the left of *zoe* (of azim) as found on the coins of Muizuddin Kaikubad¹ is exactly reproduced on this coin.

1. W. H. Valentiner, *Copper Coins of India*, Part II, p. 147 No. 191.

THREE COINS OF SULTAN QUTBUDDIN MAHMUD SHAH OF BENGAL, 896/1490.

G. S. FARID

(Pl. V. 8-10)

Sultan Qutbuddin Mahmud is incorrectly described by modern historians, numismatists and epigraphists as Nasiruddin Mahmud the second. The reason for the confusion is, firstly, that the early historians like Salim,¹ Nizamuddin,² and Farishta³ mentioned the name of the Sultan as Mahmud without giving his title, and, secondly, the name of his father is given differently by the historians as Fath Shah⁴ and Firoz Shah.

These led the numismatists like Lane Poole⁵ and others who made matter more complicated by ascribing coins bearing the *kunyat* of 'Abul Muzaffar' to Nasiruddin Mahmud I and those bearing 'Abul Mujahid' to Nasiruddin Mahmud II. But this assumption is not correct because there are dated coins of Nasiruddin Mahmud I which bear both the *kunyats*.

The epigraphists were also misled and they ascribed at least three inscriptions⁶ to Nasiruddin Mahmud II on the basis of the principles laid down by the eminent numismatists.

However, in view of the coins mentioned herein, all coins and inscriptions hitherto associated with Nasiruddin Mahmud II stand rejected as such. The Indian Museum inscription according to Dr. Z. A. Desai, actually belongs to the Moughal Emperor Aurangzeb and the other inscriptions belong to Nasiruddin Mahmud I.

Thus the old controversy regarding the Sultan's title, *kunyat* and parentage has at last been settled.

1. *Riaz-us-Salat*, Trans : A. Salam, p. 126.
2. *Taapaqt-i-Akbari*, Trans : De & Beni Pershad, Vol. 3, 1939, p. 44.
3. *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*, Trans : J. Briggs, Vol. 4, 1971, p. 202.
4. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Trans : J. Briggs, p. 202.
5. *Catalogue of Coins of the Mohammadan States in British Museum*.
6. A. H. Dani, *Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 42.

I published earlier an article, "The First Known Coin of Nasiruddin Mahmud II".¹ Since then three more coins of this Sultan have come to light, the details of which is as follows :—

- | | | |
|----------|---|---------|
| 1. Metal | : | Silver |
| Weight | : | 11 gms. |
| Size | : | 28 mms. |

In a circle with dots outside

Obverse

Reverse

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
دار الغرب (٩٨٩)

قطب الدنيا
والدين ابو
المجاهد محمد
شاه السلطان ابن
فيروز شاه السلطان

Pl. V. 8.

Note : The digit 8 of the date 896 has not been engraved at all; 6 is partly visible.

- | | | |
|----------|---|---------|
| 2. Metal | : | Silver |
| Weight | : | 11 gms. |
| Size | : | 28 mms. |

In a circle with dots outside

Obverse

Reverse

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول
الله فتى باد
١٩١١

قطب الدنيا
والدين ابوالمجاهد
محمد شاه السلطان
ابن فيروز شاه السلطان

Pl. V. 9.

1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVIII, 1976, pp. 112-116.

3. Metal : Silver
Weight : 11 gms.
Size : 28 mms.

In a circle with dots outside

Obverse

Reverse

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول
الله
خزانه 94 (-)

قطب الدنيا
والدين ابو المجاهد
محمود شاه السلطان
(ابن) فيروز شاه السلطان

Pl. V. 10.

Note : The digit 8 of the date 896 is out of flan. The letter *lam*

of 'Rasool' has been separated and placed below in the third line.

All the three coins are of different types but the legend is the same in all the cases. The coins show that Mahmud was the son of Sultan Firoz Shah and took the title of '*Qutb al Duniya wa al Din*' and adopted the *kunya* of '*Abul Majahid*'. His coins were issued from *Darul Zarb* (Mint), *Khazana* (Treasury) and Fathabad mint. Hence, there are three varieties of coins of Qutbuddin Mahmud.

The Coin No. 1 is of the same type as described in my earlier article. Coin No. 3 has the date 896H also, whereas Coin No. 2 bears 892H. The date 892H is interesting as it shows that Qutbuddin struck coins in the life-time of his father, Firoz Shah. It also shows that the coin was simultaneously issued at the time of Firoz Shah's accession to the throne in 892H thus signifying that Firoz Shah at the time of his accession nominated Qutbuddin as his heir-apparent and caused the coins to be struck in his name as well. The digit 2 of the date 892H cannot be taken as an engraving mistake since there are instances in the history of Sultans of Bengal, where the reigning monarchs allowed their sons to strike coins in their own names.¹

1. A. Karim, *Coins of the Muslim Rulers of Bengal*, p. 28.

Qutbuddin Mahmud was a puppet king, murdered after a reign of few months by one of his Abyssinian slaves, Sidi Badr Diwana, who ascended the throne styled as Sultan Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah.

The latest coin of Firoz Shah is dated in 895H, whereas there is no coin of his successor Qutbuddin of that date signifies that Firoz Shah's rule extended upto the early part of 896H. Out of the four coins of Qutbuddin, three have the date 896H points to the fact that he ascended the throne after the death of Firoz Shah in that year and was succeeded by Muzaffar Shah also in the same year as evident from his coins. Hence Qutbuddin reigned for less than a year. The latest coin and inscription¹ of Muzaffar Shah are dated in 898H and the earliest coin of the next ruler, Alauddin Husain Shah is dated in 899H. So Muzaffar Shah's rule must have terminated in early 899H and therefore there is no coin of that date.

It is thus concluded that :—

1. Saifuddin Firoz Shah reigned from 892 to 896/1486 to 1490.
2. Qutbuddin Mahmud Shah ruled for a few months in 896/1490.
3. Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah ruled from 896 to 899/1490 to 1493.

1. A. H. Dani, *op. cit.* p. 42.

REATTRIBUTION OF THE COINS OF SUHUNG

J. N. PHUKAN

In a short notice under title "A Rare Coin of Suhung of Assam" in *Coinage and Economy of North Eastern States of India*,¹ Vasant Chowdhury and Parimal Ray have attributed the octagonal silver coin weighing 11.35 grammes and bearing the Ahom legend "Kāo bay Phā Tā-rā heu chu" on one side and "Chāo-phā Suhung pin khun lāk-ni Khut-ngi" on the other,² to "Suhung" whom they have identified with "son of Udayādity" who was "installed on the Ahom throne after the fratricide Rāmadhvaja had been poisoned" and who "reigned for twenty-one days".

The above identification of "Suhung", as noted by the authors, is based on information given in the first edition of E. A. Gait's *A History of Assam* (1906; pp. 152-54). This basis of identification allows us some amount of freedom to make a brief reference to the chronicles of the Ahoms traditionally called *buranji*. They are the contemporary records of events of the Ahom rule. Earlier all *buranjis* were recorded in Ahom (*Tai*) language, and since the seventeenth century, *buranjis* were written also in Assamese language. Thus by the end of the Ahom rule in 1826, there had been *buranjis* written in two languages. But before 1906, the year in which Gait published the first edition of his *History*, only a few had been published. These few too were published not in separate book form but in *Arunodaya*, the Assamese news magazine issued by the American Baptist Mission from Sibsāgar.³ Even in 1926 when the second edition of

1. Memoirs Series, No. 7, the *NSI* (edited by Jai Prakash Singh and Nisar Ahmad), pp. 12-13. The volume includes papers presented at the 65th Annual Session of NSI at Shillong in 1977.
2. Earlier the coin was found in the cabinet of Mr. P. K. Unny of Calcutta and was duly noticed by Chowdhury and Ray in the monthly Seminar of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, held in August, 1974.
3. These chronicles were—(1) *Purani Asam Buranji* published between 1850 and 1852, (2) *Chutiya Rajar Vaṅsavalī* published in 1850 and (3) *Kamrupar Buranji* published in 1853.

There were, however, before 1906, four other works, each a compilation, published under the general title *Buranji* (in Bengali) by Haliram

the same work was published, the number of published *buranjis* was still few.¹ This had made Gait to depend on manuscript *buranjis* for information. Unfortunately the *buranjis* from which Gait had collected information are not mentioned at appropriate places in his work. Consequently whenever any fact recorded by him is disputed, we have no means to compare it with those recorded in the original *buranjis*.

During the last fifty years, a number of *buranjis*, some in original, others in collated forms, have been published.² They contain new and additional information not recorded in the earlier published chronicles. A careful examination of the accounts recorded in different chronicles does not lead us to agree with Chowdhury and Ray in identifying "Suhung" of the coin-legend cited above as Rāmadhvaja's successor to the Ahom throne and a son of Udayādityasimha, rather leads us to attribute the coin to another Ahom king bearing the title "*Chāo-phā Suhung*".

Dhekial Phukan, the first Assamese magistrate during the early British period, published in 1829; *Assam Buranji (Puthi)* by Kasinath Tamuli Phukan, compiled between 1936-38 and published in 1844; *Assam Buranji* by Gunabhiram Barua, published in 1884; and *Assam Buranji* by Padmanath Gohain Barua, published in 1899. Although the authors heavily depended on older chronicles for information, these works cannot be treated as original sources for not being contemporary records, so far as the Ahom rule is concerned.

1. During the period between 1906 and 1926, only one *buranji* was published. This was *Purani Assam Buranji* edited by Hem Chandra Goswami and published by the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti, Gauhati, 1922.
2. These are : *Ahom-Buranji (AB)* with original text in *Tai (Ahom)*, edited and translated into English by Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Barua, Calcutta, 1930; *Tungkhungia Buranji (TB)* with chapters collated from several old chronicles, edited by S. K. Bhuyan, Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies (DHAS), Gauhati, 1932; *Assam Buranji (ABD)* collated from old manuscript chronicles (1648-1681 AD), edited by S. K. Dutta, 1938; *Assam Buranji (ABB)*, edited by S. K. Bhuyan, DHAS, 1945; *Satsari Assam Buranji*, a collection of seven chronicles (First Chronicle = SAB 1, Third Chronicle = SAB 3, Fourth Chronicle = SAB 4) edited by S. K. Bhuyan, Gauhati University, 1960; *Deodhai Asam Buranji (DAB)*, compiled from several old Assamese chronicles, edited by S. K. Bhuyan, DHAS, 1932; *Kamarupar Buranji (KB)*, compiled from old Assamese chronicles, edited by S. K. Bhuyan, DHAS, 1930; *Jayantia Buranji (JB)*, collated from old Assamese manuscript chronicles, edited by S. K. Bhuyan, DHAS, 1937; *Kachari Buranji*, collated from old Assamese manuscript chronicles, edited by S. K. Bhuyan, DHAS, 1936.

On the basis of records in the *buranjis*, the following account is drawn. After removing Rāmadhvaja *alias* Siu-klan-pha, Chāo Khāmjāng¹ (also called Chāmaguriya Khāmjāng Konwar,² or Chāmaguriya Konwar³ from Tungkhāng⁴) was made king⁵ on the Ahom day *Tāo-mit* in the month of *Din-hā* in *lāk-ni*⁶ *Kāt-plāo*⁷ or Thursday, *Caitra* 20 of *Śaka* 1596.⁸ Thereafter he was known as Chāmaguriya Rajā in the Assamese chronicles.⁹ After a rule of twenty days,¹⁰ Chāmaguriya Rajā was killed

1. This is the Ahom name and is found in chronicles written in Ahom language. *AB*, p. 235-36.
2. *ABD*, p. 35.
3. *SAB* 1, p. 35; *SAB* 3, p. 99; *SAB* 4, pp. 140-41.
4. *ABB*, p. 108. But *TB*, p. 5, simply says that a Konwar (prince) from Tungkhung (Tungkhāng) was made king. Chapter II of *TB* which contains the accounts of events of the period with which we are concerned, has been collated from several old chronicles, but the collator S. K. Bhuyan does not refer to the sources against particular information. While using this portion as source one requires to compare the events and dates with other chronicles.
5. For 'king-making' cf. J. N. Phukan, "The Meaning and Significance of the Title Chao-phā (Svargadeva)", *Bulletin of the Assam State Museum* No. III, 1978, pp. 53-58.
6. *Pi* is the usual Ahom word for 'year', but the word *lāk-ni* is invariably prefixed to the name of an Ahom year.
7. It is the 26th years in the Ahom cycle of 60 years. *AB*, p. 235.
8. *SAB* 3, p. 99. *ABD* does not mention the date of installation of Chāmaguriya Konwar, but mention simply *Caitra*, *Śaka* 1596 as the date of killing of Rāmadhvaja (p. 34). Since there was no period without king between the death of Rāmadhvaja and the making of the next king, the date of former's death may be put safely as the date for the installation of his successor. *ABB*, pp. 107-108, also puts the date of Rāmadhvaja's death as *Caitra*, *Śaka* 1596, but the installation of his successor, Chāmaguriya Konwar, is given as *Vaiśākha* *Śaka* 1597. This creates a period without king for at least 12 days in between Rāmadhvaja and Chamaguriya Konwar, even if we suppose the last day of *Caitra* as the day of his death, which, however, is contrary to other evidences. This again is untenable. *KB*, p. 97, puts the date of installation of Chāmaguriya Prince as Thursday, *Ashāḍha* 19, *Śaka* 1596. In *TB*, p. 5, the date of killing Rāmadhvaja is put as *Agrahāyana* 3, *Śaka* 1596. This again is a mistake. In view of discrepancies of dates in some Assamese chronicles we rely on the dates in *AB*.
9. *ABD*, p. 36; *SAB* 3, p. 99; *SAB* 4, p. 141.
10. *SAB* 1, p. 35; *SAB* 3, p. 99; *SAB* 4, p. 141; *ABD*, p. 36; *AB*, p. 237, puts 21 days.

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in the month of *Din-ruk* of the same *lāk-ni*¹, or on Tuesday, *Vaisākha* 10 of *Śaka* 1657.² On the same day, a prince of the Tungkhungīya branch commonly named Tungkhungīya Konwar (or Tingkhangīya Konwar,³ or Tungkhungīya Gobar Konwar,⁴ or simply Gobar), the son of Chāo Ābāng and the grandson of Khun-phi (Deo-Rajā⁶) was made king¹. There is no reference in the chronicles to support the claim of Chowdhury and Ray that Chāmaguriya Rajā was a son of Udayādityasimha. Such a claim is untenable for the reason that Udayāditya belonged to the Chāringīya branch whereas Chāmaguriya Rajā belonged to the Chāmaguriya branch. There is also no record in the chronicles to show that Chāmaguriya Rajā ever assumed the title of “Chāo-phā Suhung” as recorded in the coin-legend.

Even by accepting that Chāmaguriya Rajā (*Chāo Khāmjāng* of the Ahom chronicles) was also known as Chāmaguriya Suhung, or simply Suhung, as put by Gait, who probably adopted it from Kāśinath Tamuli Phukan's *Assam Buranji*,⁸ this Suhung cannot be identified with *Chāo-phā Suhung* of the coin-legend.

The title *chāo-phā* (or its Assamese equivalent *svargadeva*), an appellation normally bestowed on a king in the coronation ceremony, was never allowed to Chāmaguriya Rajā. As such he was called simply *Rajā* in Assamese, or *chāo* in Ahom, but not *chāo-phā* or *svargadeva*. Considering the extremely briefness of his reign, it was rather highly

1. *AB*, p. 237.
2. *SAB* 1, p. 99; *ABD*, p. 36.
3. *SAB* 1, p. 36; *SABI*, p. 99.
4. *SAB* 1, p. 141.
5. *ABB*, p. 109.
6. *AB*, p. 237.
7. *TB*, p. 6, puts the date as *Pausha* 18, *Śaka* 1596. This Section (II) in *TB*, as mentioned above, was collated from different chronicles and this has caused discrepancies in dates and facts. The date of Rāmadhvaja's death is given as *Agrahāyana* 3 of *Śaka* 1596 (p. 5) and the date of accession of Tungkhungiya Gobar as *Pausha* 18, *Śaka* 1596 (p. 6). This gives us a period of 4 days between Rāmadhvaja's death and Gobar's accession. During this period, it says that two kings reigned—one prince from Tungkhang for about 12 days, and another Chāmaguriya Chuhung Konwar for about 20 days (pp. 5-6), thus a total of 32 days for both kings. But nothing is said about the remaining 12 days.
8. As already mentioned, it was first published in 1844. Second edition in 1906, p. 42.

improbable on the part of Chāmaguriya Rajā to perform the coronation ceremony which involved elaborate preparations extending to several months, and thus to have the occasion to issue coins. But the most important point which goes against the claim that Chāmaguriya Rajā was the "Suhung" of the coin-legend is that Chāmaguriya Rajā *alias* Chāo Khāmjang reigned for 20 (or 21) days between the Ahom month of *Din-hā* and *Din-ruk* in *lāk-ni Kāt plāo* (26th year of the cycle), whereas our coin bears the date *lāk-ni Khut-ngi* (27th year of the cycle) which started not less than 6 months after the reign of Chāo Khāmjang.

Considering all the facts, "Chāo-phā Suhung" of the coin-legend should be identified with Dihingīya Rajā (Dihingīya Konwar¹) who succeeded Tungkhungīya Gobar Rajā to the Ahom throne in *Jaistha* of *Śaka* 1597,² or in the Ahom month of *Din-chet* in *lāk-ni Kāt-plāo*.³ We know that his coronation ceremony was performed in *Agrahāyana* of *Śaka* 1507⁴ (AD 1675), or in the Ahom month of *Din-ching* in *lāk-ni Khut-ngi*,⁵ when he assumed the title *Chāo-phā Suhung*,⁶ and thus had the occasion to issue coins. The coins bearing legend *Kāo bay Phā Tā-rā heu chu* on one side and *Chāo-phā Suhung pin chāo lāk-ni Khut-ngi* on the other, which is studied by Chowdbury and Ray, belongs, in fact, to Dihingīya Rajā who assumed the title "Chāo-phā Suhung" in *lāk-ni Khut-ngi* (AD 1675).

1. *ABD*, p. 39; *SAB* 1, p. 100. He is also described as Dihingīya Rajā, or Sasu Dihingīya because he hailed from the Dihing, a place. *SAB* 1, p. 36; *SAB* 1, p. 141; *ABB*, pp. 110-113.
2. *ABD*, p. 39.
3. *AB*, p. 241.
4. *ABD*, p. 39; *KB*, p. 98.
5. *AB*, p. 243.
6. In the collated chapter (II) of *TB*, pp. 7-8, the name of Dihingīya Rajā is given as Arjun Dihingīya Konwar from Dihing who assumed the title "Sujinphā", which, however, is a mistake. This title belongs to the immediate successor of Dihingīya Raja. Cf. *AB*, p. 50; *ABD*, p. 46.

A UNIQUE COPPER PIECE OF FARRUKHSIYAR

LALMAN

(Pl. VI. 3)

I have come across a unique copper piece of Farrukhsiyar which is described in the following lines.

Description :

Shape	:	Square
Size	:	1.4 cms.
Thickness	:	0.6 cms.
Weight	:	11.0 gms.
Obverse	:	A circular impression with the legend "Farrukhsiyar 4" in a lined border.
Reverse	:	Blank.

Farrukhsiyar ruled only for about six years from AH 1124 to 1131 (= AD 1713 to 1719) and the present piece bears the regnal year 4.

This does not seem to be a coin but an impression of the royal seal. Nothing can be said with certainty but there is more probability of its being the latter. The piece, however, is unique and important.

जावरा राज्य की ताम्र मुद्राएँ

गोवर्द्धन शर्मा

(Pl. IX)

जावरा राज्य तत्कालीन सेंट्रल इन्डिया का एक प्रथम श्रेणी का प्रभावो मुस्लिम राज्य था, जिसका प्रादुर्भाव अंग्रेजों और होल्कर दरबार के मध्य जनवरी ६, १८१८ ई० मंगलवार को सम्पन्न हुई इतिहास के प्रसिद्ध मन्दसौर सन्धि के फलस्वरूप हुआ था। इससे पूर्व इस राज्य का सारा क्षेत्र होल्कर राज्य का अभिन्न अंग था।

१८१८ ई० में राज्य की स्थापना से लेकर स्वतन्त्रता के पश्चात् राज्यों के भारत संघ में विलिनीकरण तक 'जावरा राज्य' के मुख्य कुल चार शासक हुए। राज्य के प्रथम शासक नवाब अब्दुल गफूर खाँ सन् १८२१ ई० में जब इन्दौर से जावरा आए तब जावरा मात्र ३०० घरों का एक छोटासा ग्राम ही था। नवाब ने यहाँ आने के बाद राज्य की राजधानी जावरा तथा राज्य के अन्य क्षेत्रों के विकास की ओर ध्यान दिया। किन्तु सन् १८२५ ई० में नवाब गफूर खाँ का देहान्त हो गया। उस समय राज्य का उत्तराधिकारी गौसमोहम्मद खाँ मात्र दो वर्ष का था। अतः राजमाता बेगम मुशरफ की देख रेख में सारे राज्य का प्रशासन होल्कर राज्य के ढंग पर ही चलाया गया।

सन् १८४२ ई० में नवाब गौस मोहम्मद खाँ को शासन के समस्त अधिकार प्राप्त हुए। तब नवाब साहब ने अपने राज्य के चहुँमुखी विकास की ओर ध्यान दिया। सैकड़ों व्यक्तियों को जमीनें और अन्य सुविधाएँ देकर राज्य में आबाद होने तथा कुएँ आदि खुदवाकर कृषि के विकास के लिए प्रोत्साहित किया गया। इस हेतु नवाब गौस मोहम्मद खाँ ने लोगों को अपने हस्ताक्षरित ताम्रपत्र प्रदान किए। हिन्दी-उर्दू मिश्रित भाषा के ऐसे कई ताम्रपत्र इन्दौर के पुरावस्तु संग्राहक स्वर्गीय डॉ० नागू के संग्रह में विद्यमान हैं, जिन्हें इन्दौर संग्रहालय के क्यूरेटर श्री रामसेवक गर्ग ने 'अहिल्या स्मारिका १९७१' में प्रकाशित किया है। इन्हीं ताम्रपत्रों से ज्ञात होता है कि उस समय प्रतापगढ़ (राजस्थान) में ढला सालम शाही चाँदी का सिक्का ही वैध मुद्रा के रूप में सारे जावरा राज्य में प्रचलित था। उसी प्रकार की रजत मुद्रा के १/२ भाग और चौथाई भाग के छोटे सिक्कों का चलन भी राज्य में सर्वत्र था। (देखो मुद्रा क्र० २६ से ३१ तक)

१८५७ ई० के क्रान्तिकाल में जावरा राज्य को भी गम्भीर संकटों का सामना करना पड़ा। नवाब गौस मोहम्मद खाँ १८५९ ई० तक क्रान्ति सम्बन्धी समस्याओं में उलझे रहे। इस समय तक जावरा राज्य ने अपनी कोई प्रथक मुद्रा प्रचलित की होगी यह सम्भव नहीं लगता और न इस सम्बन्ध में कोई पुष्ट प्रमाण ही उपलब्ध हुए हैं। सम्भवतः सन् १८६० से १८६५ के मध्य ही नवाब गौस मोहम्मद खाँ ने जावरा राज्य की पृथक ताम्रमुद्राओं का प्रचलन किया होगा। इन मुद्राओं का आकार गोल था। मुद्राओं पर उनका मूल्य अंकित नहीं है किन्तु प्राप्त प्रमाणों के आधार पर इनका प्रयोग एक पैसे के रूप में ही होता था यह निश्चित रूपेण कहा जा सकता है। इन प्रारम्भिक मुद्राओं के बेडोल आकार

और उन पर अंकित अक्षरों की बनावट को देखते हुए सहज ही अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि ये हस्त-निर्मित हैं तथा ठेकों पर अलग अलग व्यक्तियों से बनवाई गई होंगी।

वर्गीकरण की दृष्टि से राज्य की ताम्र मुद्राओं को चार भागों में विभाजित किया जा सकता है।

(१) प्रारम्भिक मुद्राएँ—इन ताम्र मुद्राओं के अग्रभाग (Obverse) में दो रेखाओं की वृत्त डिजाइन के मध्य उर्दू में 'नवाब जावरा' अंकित है। कुछ मुद्राओं पर अक्षर कटे हुए भी हैं।

पृष्ठभाग (Reverse) में दो रेखाओं की साधारण वृत्त डिजाइन में दो भाग वाला बाँई ओर फहराता तिकोना ध्वज है। उसके आस पास ही उर्दू में 'जर्व सरकार' अंकित है। कट जाने से किसी किसी मुद्रा पर 'जर्व सरकार' का कुछ भाग ही पढ़ा जा सकता है। इन मुद्राओं का वजन १० से १३ ग्राम के मध्य है। मुद्रा क्र० ४ के पृष्ठभाग में ध्वज की पट्टी चौरस है और वह दाहिनी ओर फहराते हुए हैं। मुद्रा क्र० ३ पृष्ठ भाग में तिकोना ध्वज दाहिनी ओर फहराते हुए अंकित है।

इन प्रारम्भिक मुद्राओं को देख कर ऐसा लगता है कि इनका रूप निर्धारित करने के लिए या तो इनकी डिजाइनों को बार बार बदला गया है या फिर विभिन्न ठेकेदारों से निर्मित कराने के कारण इनमें एक रूपता नहीं आ पाई है। फलक ९, क्र० १ से ४ तक की मुद्राएँ प्रारम्भिक मुद्राएँ हैं।

(२) कृषि प्रतीक मुद्राएँ—इन ताम्र मुद्राओं के आकार प्रकार वजन आदि में कोई विशिष्ट अन्तर नहीं है। अग्रभाग का लेख काफी सुडौल है। प्रारम्भिक मुद्राओं के समान अग्रभाग में उर्दू में नवाब जावरा के स्थान पर केवल जावरा ही दिखाई देता है। इनमें 'नवाब' शब्द सम्भवतः अंकित नहीं किया गया है। दे० फलक ९, मुद्रा क्र० ६, व ७ का अग्रभाग।

इन मुद्राओं के पृष्ठभाग में प्रारम्भिक मुद्राओं से काफी भिन्नता है। उर्दू में 'जर्व सरकार' लेख इनमें बिल्कुल दिखाई नहीं देता। किन्तु अनुमान यही होता है कि इन मुद्राओं के साँचों में 'जर्व सरकार' अवश्य अंकित रहा होगा। लेकिन चिन्हों की वृद्धि के कारण मुद्राओं में कट गया। ध्वज का आकार थोड़ा बड़ा है किन्तु उसका रूप वही तिकोना बाँई ओर फहराता हुआ है। ध्वज स्तम्भ पर दाहिनी ओर ऊपर से नीचे तक आड़ी छोटी छोटी रेखाएँ खींची हैं। इन रेखाओं का अंकन किस बात का द्योतक है यह तो निश्चित रूपेण नहीं कहा जा सकता। किन्तु सन् १८६० से १८६५ के मध्य जावरा राज्य में कृषि के विकास हेतु नए कुए खुदवाने नई जमीन आबाद करने तथा पेड़ लगवाने की ओर पर्याप्त ध्यान दिया जा रहा था। द्वितीय नवाब गौस मोहम्मद खाँ द्वारा प्रदत्त इस काल के ताम्र पत्र मेरे उपर्युक्त कथन की पुष्टि करते हैं। अतः बहुत सम्भव है ध्वज स्तम्भ की इन रेखाओं तथा ध्वज के नीचे बाँई ओर एक छोटे वृत्त में रेखाओं का अंकन इन मुद्राओं पर कृषि प्रतीक चिह्नों के रूप में किया गया होगा। वृत्त चिह्न कुए का प्रतीक रहा होगा। इस प्रकार की मुद्राओं पर कोई सन् सम्बत अंकित नहीं है। किन्तु ये भी प्रारम्भिक मुद्राएँ ही अनुमानित होती हैं जिन्हें १८६०-६५ के मध्य नवाब गौस मोहम्मद खाँ ने प्रचारित किया होगा। एक ही प्रकार के प्रतीक चिह्नों के आकारों में अन्तर इनके भिन्न-भिन्न समय और स्थानों में निर्माण का द्योतक है। (देखो मुद्रा क्र० ५ से १ तथा १२)।

ठीक इसी प्रकार के प्रतीक की दो मुद्राओं (मुद्रा क्र० ८ व ९) के अग्रभाग में अरबी अंकों में १२८० अंकित है। उस समय राज्य में फसली सन् का ही व्यापक रूप से सर्वत्र प्रयोग होता था। नवाब गौस मोहम्मद खाँ द्वारा प्रदत्त ताम्रपत्रों एवं तत्कालीन अभिलेखों से मेरे उपर्युक्त कथन की पुष्टि होती है। अतः १२८० फसली (ई० सन् १८७२) के आधार पर ये दोनों ताम्र मुद्राएँ जावरा राज्य के तृतीय शासक इस्माईल अली खाँ के शासन काल की हैं। द्वितीय नवाब गौस मोहम्मद खाँ का सन् १८६५ ई० में देहान्त हो गया था।

(३) १२९० फसली सन् की मुद्राएँ—फसली सन् १२८० (ई० सन् १८७२) के बाद १२८० फसली सन् (ई० सन् १८८१) की जावरा राज्य की ताम्र मुद्राओं में लगभग सभी ताम्र मुद्राएँ एक समान ही हैं। सम्भवतः फसली सन् १२८० (ई० सन् १८७२) के बाद मुद्राओं का यही स्वरूप मान्य कर लिया गया होगा। इन गोल ताम्र मुद्राओं के अग्रभाग में प्रारम्भिक मुद्राओं के समान ही उर्दू में 'नवाब जावरा' लिखा है। इनमें केवल एक ही विशिष्टता है कि जावरा शब्द के ऊपर अरबी अंकों में १२८० फसली सन् है अंकित है। कई मुद्राओं में केवल १२०० तथा कुछ में ९० के अंक देखे जा सकते हैं। पृष्ठ भाग में बाई ओर फहराता तिकोना ध्वज तथा उर्दू में 'जर्ब सरकार' अंकित है। शेष विवरण प्रारम्भिक मुद्राओं के समान ही है। (देखो मुद्रा क्र० १० से १७ तक)।

(४) ई० सन् १८९३ से १८९५ तक की ताम्र मुद्राएँ—ये ताम्र मुद्राएँ आधुनिक, सुडौल और यन्त्र निर्मित दिखाई देती हैं। ये सभी मुद्राएँ एक और दो पैसे मूल्य की हैं। दो पैसे (अधन्ना) वाली मुद्रा एक पैसे वाली मुद्रा से आकार में बड़ी है। (दे० मुद्रा क्र० १८)। इस मुद्रा को डॉ० परमेश्वरी लाल गुप्त ने अपने ग्रन्थ 'Coins' में पृष्ठ २१८ पर प्रकाशित किया है। इन मुद्राओं के अग्र भाग में ऊपर की ओर अर्द्ध वृत्ताकार अंग्रेजी में 'H. H. THE NAWAB OF JAORA' तथा अर्द्धवृत्त में नीचे की ओर ई० सन् १८९३ अंकित है। मध्य में दो रेखाओं के वृत्त की साधारण डिजाइन में उर्दू में 'जर्ब सरकार जावरा' लिखा है।

पृष्ठभाग में ऊपर की ओर अर्द्ध वृत्ताकार हिन्दी में 'सरकार जावरा' तथा नीचे के अर्द्धवृत्त में बेल बूटे के मध्य नागरी अंकों में विक्रमी सम्वत् अंकित है। मध्य भाग में दो रेखाओं के वृत्त डिजाइन के भीतर चौरस ध्वज दाहिनी ओर फहराता हुआ है। ध्वज स्तम्भ के बाईं ओर हिजरी सन् अरबी अंकों में तथा दाहिनी ओर मुद्रा का मूल्य 'दो पैसा' या एक पैसा अंकित है। दो पैसे और एक पैसे की उस प्रकार की मुद्राओं में दो पैसा मुद्रा का आकार एक पैसे की मुद्रा के आकार से कुछ बड़ा है। इसके अतिरिक्त अन्य विवरण दोनों प्रकार की मुद्राओं का एक जैसा ही है। इस प्रकार की अधिकांश मुद्राएँ ई० सन् १८९३, १८९४ और १८९५ की हैं। ये सब मुद्राएँ राज्य के तृतीय शासक नवाब इस्माईल अली खाँ द्वारा प्रचारित की गई थी और 'पंखा शाही पैसा' के नाम से प्रसिद्ध थी। इनका निर्माण जावरा टकसाल में किया गया था। (देखो मुद्रा क्र० १८, २०, २१ से २५)।

५ मार्च १८९५ ई० को नवाब इस्माईल अली खाँ की मृत्यु हो गई। अतः उत्तराधिकारी नवाब इफ्तीखार अली खाँ जावरा राज्य के चतुर्थ शासक बने। १८९५ ई० में शाह आलम शाही रुपये का चलन राज्य में बन्द कर दिया गया और अंग्रेजी कलदार रुपये को ही राज्य में वैध मुद्रा के रूप में प्रचलित रखा गया। इसी वर्ष अंग्रेज सरकार के परामर्श पर राज्य ने अपनी ताम्र मुद्राओं का निर्माण

भी बन्द कर दिया तथा सारे राज्य में अंग्रेजी सिक्के ही वैध मुद्रा के रूप में प्रचलित हो गए। किन्तु ई० सन् १८९३ से १८९५ तक की निर्मित यन्त्र निर्मित 'पंखा शाही' ताम्र मुद्राएँ भी प्रचलित रहीं। इस प्रकार की मुद्राओं का चलन स्वतन्त्रता के पश्चात् राज्यों के भारत संघ में विलिनीकरण तक रहा।

चतुर्थ नवाब इफ्तीखार अली खाँ ने ई० सन् १८९५ से १९४७ तक शासन किया। इनके शासन काल में राज्य की कोई ताम्र मुद्रा तो प्रचलित नहीं हुई किन्तु द्वितीय महायुद्ध की समाप्ति से पूर्व सन् १९४३-४४ में एक व दो पैसे, एक आना, दो आना, चार आने, आठ आने और एक रुपये के टिकिट राज्य की पृथक मुद्रा के रूप में प्रचलित हुए थे। विभिन्न मूल्य वर्ग के टिकिटों का रंग भिन्न भिन्न था। इस प्रकार की टिकिट-मुद्राओं पर नवाब इफ्तीखार अली खाँ का चित्र, अंग्रेजी और उर्दू में राज्य का नाम तथा मूल्य आदि अंकित रहता था। ये टिकिट मुद्राएँ सन् १९४५ ई० में बन्द कर दी गईं।

दिसम्बर १९४७ ई० में चतुर्थ नवाब इफ्तीखार अली खाँ की मृत्यु के बाद सन् १९४८ में नवाब उस्मान अली खाँ राज्य के पाँचवें अन्तिम अल्प कालिक शासक बने। कुल दो या तीन दिन इनका शासन रहा औ जावरा राज्य भारत संघ में विलीन हो गया।

नोट :—उपर्युक्त विवरण मेरे व्यक्तिगत संग्रह की मुद्राओं के आधार पर लिखा गया है।

Summary

The Copper Coins of Javara State

The Muslim state of Javara (in Central India) came into existence in 1818 with the commencement of the Mandasore Treaty between the English and Holkar. From that date till the independence in 1947 there were four rulers of this state. The first Nawab Abdul Gafoor Khan died in 1825 and could not issue a currency for the state. His son Nawab Ghaus Mohammad Khan was a minor then and took over the administration in 1842. He issued several copper plates from which it is known that during this period the *Salamshahi* silver coins, minted in Pratapgarh (Rajasthan), were current in the state. Its half and quarter denominations were also known; **Pl. IX. 26-31**. It appears that he issued his own copper coins between 1960-65. These round coins had no indication of their domination but were current as one paisa. These were hand-made. The coins of the Javara state can be classified into four groups.

The first group was of those early hand-made coins which have Urdu legend '*Nawab Javara*' in a double circle on the obverse while on the reverse there is a triangular flag within a double circle with the legend '*Zarab Sarkar*' in Urdu. **Pl. IX. 1-4**.

The second group is of those coins which have the legend 'Javara' on the obverse and some symbols on the reverse. **Pl. IX. 5-9 & 19.** Two coins are dated in 1280 of the *Fasali* era. These must have been issued during the period of the third Nawab Ismail Ali Khan. The third group of coins, **Pl. IX. 10-17**, bear the date 1290. The fourth group of coins was machine made. On the obverse these coins have the English legend 'H. H. The Nawab of Jaora' and the year 1893. The reverse has the legend 'Sarkar Javara' in Nagari and date in *Vikrama samvat*. In the middle of a double circle the *Hizra* era and the denomination of the coin is given in Urdu. These were known as *pañkhāshāhi paisā*. **Pl. IX. 18, 20, 21-25.**

In March 1895 the third Nawab died and his successor Iftikhar Ali Khan became the fourth ruler. From that year the English coins became the valid currency and the minting of the state coins was stopped. Hence the fourth Nawab did not issue any coins. But after the World War II during 1943-44 a paper money in the form of tickets of 1 *paisa*, 2 *paise*, 1 *anna*, 2 *anna*, 4 *anna*, 8 *anna* and one rupee were issued by the state. These had the figure of the Nawab, the name of the state and the denomination of the tickets. These tickets were also stopped in the year 1945. In 1948 the state merged in the Indian Union.

T. P. V.

THREE NEW RĀMA-ṬĀNKĀS

DEVENDRA HANDA

(Pl. VI. 4-6)

Rāma-Ṭānkās have evoked much interest and quite a good number of them have been published in this journal and elsewhere during the last fifteen years. To the published examples, I add the following three new pieces.

1. Bronze, Round, 2.9 cms., 2.35 mms, 10.8614 gms.

Obverse : Rāma and Sitā on throne under *chhattra*, Lakshmaṇa on left and Bharata and Śatrughna on right; Hanumān below. No. legend.

Reverse : Hanumān to right carrying a club in the left and gandhamādana mountain in the right hand with tail curled in front of the face from behind the head and the back. Hanumān wears a dotted tapering crown, pearl necklace, dot-bedecked jacket and under wear. Ends of the *uttariya* (scarf) at the back and in front near the knee of Hanumān's left leg. Five pronged star on right and left, ground represented by horizontal parallel strokes below. Pl. VI. 4.

The obverse and reverse dies are not adjusted. There is neither a legend nor date. Dotted border can be seen on both the sides. Traces of silver plating are visible.

2. Bronze, Round, 2.9 cms., 2.2 mms, 9.8915 gms.

Obverse : Within dotted border, Śiva seated on tiger skin to front in *padmāsana*, front pair of hands folded on the chest, trident in back right hand and a dumb-bell with a serpent in the back left. A serpent around the neck also. The moustached god wears *jaṭā-jūṭa* with the river Gaṅgā flowing from the top-knot and falling to right. Nāgari leged in two parts 'Śrā Śaka on the left and

rāya ja on the right, probably representing 'Śrī Śaṅkarāyā jī' or 'Śrī Śaṅkarāya namaḥ'.

Reverse : Within a dotted border a lined circle containing a *yantra* (consisting of a square placed on apex with a smaller square within, placed on side and segmented triangularly) with eight numerical figures in Nāgarī arranged vertically and horizontally in the triangular compartments giving a total of 20 counted variously.

Pl. VI. 5.

There are traces of silver plating.

3. Bronze, Round, 2.9 cms., 2.2 mms., 9.6621 gms.

Obverse : Buddha seated to front with legs folded and crossing each other; right hand hanging on the side in *buṃmi-sparśa-mudrā* and the left arms turned inwards at right angle at the elbow with hand in *chinmudrā* (?); hair combed backwards in three clusters; nimbus behind the head in the form of a five pronged star; the lord wears a jacket resembling that of Sūrya in some early images and a lower garment; face of a lion and forepart of an elephant to front on the right and left and floral decorations below.

Reverse : As on No. 2 but with horizontal numerals transposed.

Pl. VI. 6

All the three pieces can be ascribed to the late seventeenth century AD.

A GOLD RAMAṬAṆKĀ OF SOUTH INDIAN ORIGIN :

A RE-APPARISAL

KALPANA GHOSH

(Pl. VI. 7)

The present paper introduces a gold Rāma-Ṭaṅkā of South Indian origin in Victoria Memorial Collection. Photograph obtained through the courtesy of the Director, Victoria Memorial, who kindly permitted me to publish it.

Rāmā Ṭaṅkāś may be divided in to two classes :—One which were struck by the Vijaynagara in the South, chiefly gold, and some Ṭaṅkāś manufactured by private agencies, like temple authorities and sold to the pilgrims at the holy places of Northern India.¹

Silver was never popular in the South as a medium of currency and the principal gold coin/pagoda or even fanam had probably no subsidiary in silver.

The present type of coinage has a long and continuous history of its own, being minted in different parts of the country under the different circumstances. The same device was also adopted by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 16th cent. AD with Persian legend on *Rāma-Śītā* coins. A systematic study of a large number of these coins is sure to be advantageous from the point of view of the various phases of art showing the successive stages of its development.

Rāmaṭaṅkā, sometimes spelt 'Rām-tāṅkis', are gold medals. In the obverse we usually find Rāma and Śītā seated on throne accompanied by attendants. Always in gold and circular in area with flat concave sides, these are struck mainly as votive offerings, weight varying perhaps in accordance with the wealth or status of the donor. Though they are found in small numbers chiefly in the Deccan, stray pieces have been described earlier by different authors.²

1. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*—p 253.

2. Mr. Marsden in his *Numismatic Orientalia*, Elliot, *Coins of South India*, p. 152; E., J. Gibbs dealt with Ṭaṅkā in his article "The Medals Known as Rāma-Ṭaṅkis", *JASB*, Vol. LIII, part I, 1884.

Our coin in its fabric is quite similar with the coin described by M. M. Chakraborty (Ṭaṅkā No. 2) but having different weight and shroff marks.¹ The motifs² (usual *Abhisheka* motif) on the present piece of coin shows some minor variations which may be described as follows:--

Metal : Gold.

Shape : Flat, round.

Weight : 14 grams (216.48 grains), (Ṭaṅkā No. 2, weight 189 grains).

Size : 3.3 cms. dotted border, irregular.

Obverse : Within dotted border Rāma and Sītā seated on throne under the jewelled *chhatra* (umbrella). Rama holding a bow in his left hand and arrow in his right hand while Sītā holds a flower in her right hand. To their left stands a figure (probably) Śatrughna³ holding the *chhatra*. Hanumāna is seen touching the feet of Rāma and another monkey (probably Sugrīva or Jāmbhuvāna) holds a *chaurī* at Rāma's right hand side.

Mr. Chakraborty has, however, identified this above-mentioned figure to be holding a book. Below the throne of Rāma is a pitcher (*kalāśa*) but without any mango leaves in it. The notable difference, from Mr. Chakraborty's coin is that crown of Rāma is different in style and design. The sun and the moon to the left and right of the pitcher and above the *chhatra* as appears in Chakraborty's coin are absent in our coin. Illegible letters are seen above and below.

Reverse : The procession is seen moving on a platform designed by two parallel lines with equispaced dots in between. Eight figures (Rāma's devoted monkey attendants) stand on the platform, each carrying royal standard in different designs. From the bottom of this platform garlands are

1. M.M. Chakraborty described four Rāma Ṭaṅkās in the *JASB*; Vol. LXI Part I, plate VI. Ṭaṅkā No. 2 is identical to our coin.
2. Usual *Abhisheka* motif. According to M. M. Chakraborty the nature of illustration indicates that they were struck at the time of *Abhisheka* or enthronements of kings. The idea is supported by the name by which they were known in Orrissa, 'Rāmā-bhishekis' in short they may be considered as coronation medals. *Ibid*, Vol. LXI. 1892, Part I, plate VI. pp. 104-107.

3. छत्रं तस्य च जग्राह शत्रुघ्न पाण्डुर शुभम्
श्वेतञ्च वाल व्यजनं सुग्रीवो वानरेश्वरः....."

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hanging and this follows what looks like a number of letters and ten letters also appear on top. (Pl, VI, 7.)

Two points of controversy arise here. One is with the age and provenance of these coins and other is about the inscriptions. So far as the inscription is concerned we find three opinions. M.M. Chakraborty interpreted his legend to be in Pāli.¹ J. Gibbs concluded them to be Balbodh² letters though he admitted them as elligible. However Dr. Didie³ has mentioned one similar gold coin with *Nāgarī* legend. Again A. Subramaniam wrote about six coins in Madras Museum at the time of Vijaynagara king Harihara (1336-57)⁴ and Bhukka (1344-77) with Kannada script. It appears that other than Subramaniam's coin the rest including the present one, is yet to be deciphered. In our opinion the mystery lies buried in those letters. Some of them are similar to the Brāhmī of Northern class (12-13th cent, AD) used in Vijayanagara but are only to be read in the opposite direction of the coin to be made legible. No coin reads this way. Again these letters are difficult to be ascribed as design motifs as there are repetitions of letters and they almost resemble a written word.

In conclusion we may say that the controversy over the interpretation of these letters are far from being resolved and that they are neither Pali nor Balbodh or Kannada. The coins are certainly not older than Vijaynagara⁵ period when the rulers seem to have started to use the figures⁶ of gods and goddess on the coins.

1. *JASB*, Vol. LXI, 1892, Part I Plate Vi, Taṅkā No. 2
2. *Ibid.* Vol. LIII, Part I, Plate VI, 1884, p. 207.
3. *Ibid.* Vol. LIII, No. II, 1884. p. 212.
4. *JNSI*, Vol. XLI, Part I, p. 67. 1979.
5. Sewell's *Sketch of South Indian Dynasties*, p. 103. Mr. Gibbs came to conclusion that some of them might be 800 or 900 years old. Sir W. Elliot would bring them down to the reign of the Narasingh IV time of Vijaynagara (1388-1550).
6. Dr. Didie's observation was that earliest coins bore the marks of animals, plants and geometrical figures. Next to them came coins bearing the figures of gods, such as Śiva, Pārvaṭi, and Viṣṇu etc. So they cannot be put before the Vijaynagara kings. *JASB*, Vol. LII, No. 1, 1883, pp. 33-53

NUMISMATIC NOTES AND NOTICES

T. P. VERMA

A

A Copper Coin Hoard from Nepal.

A hoard of copper coins was found in the year 1970-71 by the archaeological team of Rissho University, Japan from the mound No. 7 at Tilaurakot, Nepal, which is a few miles west of Lumbini. The hoard contained about two thousand two hundred coins out of which only 2,187 could be saved from the fire of the Simha Darbar. In *Ancient Nepal*, No. 26, January 1974, p. 44. Babu Krishna Rijal groups them as follows :

1. Indo-Bactrian coins of Apollodotus	2
2. Panchala type coins of Agnimitra	2
3. Ayodhya coins of Cock and Bull type	379
4. Kushana coins of Wima Kadphises	428
5. Coins of Kanishka	1,224
6. Coins of Huvishka	152

The Ayodhya coins bear the names of kings Ayumitra and Satyamitra.

The typological break up of Kanishka's coins is as follows :

Vato type	276
Śiva type	106
Mithra type	17
Nanaiya type	10
Athsho type	11
Mao type	5
Buddha type	3
Helios type (small size)	9
Nana type (small size)	5
Mixed type (unidentified)	782

Break up of Huvishkas coins is as follows :

King on elephant type	74
King on couch type	50
King on lotus type	28

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No detailed study of these coins is given here but it appears that perhaps the hoard was buried sometime during the reign of Huvishka and might have formed the possession of some personnel of the Kushana army. If this be true the importance of the hoard increases specially in the light of the sealings of *Devaputravihara* found in the Piprahwa excavations. This establishes that the Kushanas had firmly established themselves in the region for some time. Not only this, the inclusion of the Panchala and Ayodhya coins shows the route of the march of the Kushana army. This reminds us of the passage of the *Yugapurāṇa* in the *Gārgisamhitā* which tells us that "Then, having occupied (the city of) Saketa, (the country of) Panchala and (the city of) Mathura, the viciously valient Yavanas will reach (or seize) Kusumadhva, etc." The passage is generally believed to refer to the Indo-Greek invasion but if we consider the paucity of archaeological material related to the Indo-Greeks and the abundance of Kushana coin-hoards in the eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, it will not be surprising if we take this passage to refer to the Kushana invasion. The Chinese sources give the credit of conquering India to Wima Kadphises and he might have penetrated upto Pataliputra. Kanishka I got the big empire in inheritance is evident from his Brāhmī inscriptions from eastern Uttar Pradesh dated in the early years of his era. These evidences require fresh considerations about the extent of the Kushana empire during its early days, i. e. under Wima Kadphises.

B

A New Coin of Wima Kadphises, King of the Kushanas.

Joe Cribb deserves our congratulations for re-attributing some irregular coinage to Wima Kadphises which were earlier attributed to Kujula Kadphises by A. Cunningham (See *Coins, Culture and History in the Ancient World*, Numismatic and other studies in honor of Bluma L. Tell, Detroit, 1981, pp. 29-37). After comparing the partly visible legends on these Bull : Camel type coins Cribb reconsturcts them as follows :—

Obverse : Blundered Greek legend : *Basileos Basileon Zaoou*, which would be translated 'of the King of Kings, the Tribal Chief.'

Reverse : Kharoshthi legend : *Maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Vema/sa Kho* and be translated 'of the Great King, the King of Kings, the Son of Heaven, Vima, the Kushan'.

He rightly justifies this new attribution by saying that "The weight standard on which these coins were struck is the reformed standard of *Soter Megas* which was used by Vima for striking his regular coins. The fabric of these coins is close to the fabric of the drachms of Vima's regular coinage. The use of Greek and Kharosthi inscriptions starting at the top of the coin and forming a continuous circle round the edge of it is normal of Vima's coins. (This feature is found elsewhere only on the bilingual coins of *Soter Megas* and on the Nike reverse Indo-Parthian coins.) The style and forms of the Greek and Kharosthi letters match exactly those used on Vima's other coins." (p. 32).

He then discusses the three titles on these coins which are not found on the regular issues of this king. These are *devaputra*, *Khoshana* and *Zaouu* (*Yabgu* i. e. tribal chief). He rightly observes that the title *devaputra*, common to almost all the Kushana kings after Kanishka, is also used for Wima on his statue from Mat. This title is also used on the Bull: Camel coins of his predecessor Kujula. The *Khoshana* title, used extensively by the Kushana kings is used here for Wima for the first time. The third title *yabgu* is used only by Kujula but it does not occur on his Bull: Camel coins 'which were issued after he had adopted the royal titles *maharayasa rayarayasa*.' Thus according to Cribb 'the combination of the titles *maharaja rajatiraja* with *Yabgu* is a novel feature displayed by this coin, and its use by Wima on them is certainly not expected.' This is also a reason why he calls this an irregular coinage issued at the time of some campaign.

We see the problem from another angle. Now it is extensively accepted that the coinage of *Soter Megas*, on numismatic considerations, come between the coinage of Kujula and Wima. But the identity of *Soter Megas* is still a point of controversy. In our opinion *Soter Megas* coinage were issued by Wima himself. This was, perhaps, done during a period when Kujula was still living but the whole administration was in the hands of Wima. We know from the Chinese sources that Kujula lived upto eighty years of age. It is not possible for a king to remain active even during such an advanced age. Therefore, there must have been a period when Wima had to look after the affairs of the empire in the name of Kujula. In his long career Kujula had risen from the status of a tribal chief to the royalty. But for his own tribesmen he was still a *Yabgu*. The efforts of Wima continued to expand the empire under Kujula. This must have been a slow process. The innovative genius of Wima perhaps, could

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not wait for the death of aged Kujula. He started his innovative experiments with the coinage to suit the changing trade patterns of that part of civilized world. Obviously he could not mint money in his own name and also, he did not favour the idea of giving the name of the invalid king. The word *Soter Magas*, the Great King, would suitably fit for Kujula, who had now become the great king on account of the victorious campaigns of Wima. But, on the other hand, it would be equally applicable to Wima himself. Such a state of affairs must have continued for quite a few years and during this transitional period the coins in the name of *Soter Megas* were issued by Wima Kadphises.

So far as the development in the titles is concerned we must accept that there must be some evolution with the enhancement of the power and prestige of the kings concerned. But at the same time older titles of lesser importance also continued. This can particularly be seen in the inscriptions of the Kushanas themselves. There are several dozens of such instances but we will cite here only two. The Sui Vihar inscription of year 11 calls Kanishka *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra* while the Manikiala stone inscription of the year 18 and Mathura Image Inscription year 23 style him only as *maharaja*. The Zeda inscription mentions Kanishka without any royal title. These instances do not mean any decline in the power of Kanishka. Similarly the use of the title *Yabgu* alongwith the titles *Basileos Basileon* should not invite any problem. Wima, like his predecessor Kujula, also, was the Chief (*Yabgu*) of his tribe even after assuming the title of *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra*. Here we may bring to the notice of scholars three inscriptions. The Panjtar stone inscription of the year 122 mentions one *Maharaya Gushana*. The Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136 mention one *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra khushana*. And, the Khalatse stone inscription of the year 187 mentions one *maharaja Uvima*. Now if we identify this last mentioned king with Wima, as Konow has done, we must assign the first two of the above mentioned inscriptions to Kujula Kadphises because of the time gap between the two sets. Again if our line of thinking has some plausibility the title of *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Khushana* was in vogue among the Kushanas since the time of Kujula himself. Dr. Joe Cribb must be given the credit of re-reading of these coins and associatting these titles with the name of Wima Kadphises who was a Great King, King of Kings, Son of the Heaven and a Kushana,

SOME SEALS, SEALINGS AND STAMPS IN MY COLLECTION

B. R. MANI

(Pl. VI. 8-14)

A documentation is needed of a few interesting seals, sealings and stamps in my collection which belong to the centuries beginning from about the third century B C to about the 10th century AD. These artifacts have been brought from different archaeological sites in the Gangetic valley. They are specified here with details of their provenance and typology.

A. Clay sealings of Dharmalāta and Indradeva (c. 3rd—2nd century B C) from Siswania.

Two sealings of the above captions were found at Siswania, an unexcavated site about three kilometres southeast of the Bhadrēśwaranātha temple, down the stream of river Kuano on its north-eastern bank, the place being accessible by easy transport lying at a distance of six kilometres on Basti-Mahuli road from the district headquarters of Basti in U. P. The site discovered by my father Mr. C. Mani in 1944, was identified as a Maurya-Śuṅga wharf town which carried on minting of coins. It would be a piece of information that nearly two thousand coins of punch-marked (silver and copper), uninscribed cast, local, Ayodhyā type and Kushara money in copper have been recovered from the surface of the spacious mound of Siswania, apart from such many pieces which trickled out from the place through local goldsmiths. There are clear traces which may be confirmed by further excavations that the town flourished in the NBPW period and was deserted sometimes after the Kushanas. The following description of the sealings is inserted :

1. The first sealing was found by my grandmother Mrs. Drugawati Tripathi and my father during their explorations in the late 40s. This sealing is finely polished and bears the legend on the stamped oval surface in early Brāhmī script of about 3rd-2nd century B C which is to be read *Dhamalatasa*. Pl. VI. 8a. Near the top of the oval stamped surface there is another small circular stamped surface having the *swastika* symbol Pl. VI. 8b. The sealing was made in the shape of a ball which at the time

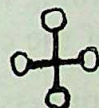
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of the stamping caused to be so handled with thumb and the index finger that the effect of pressure of thumb, index finger and two stamps was manifested in its irregular shape. Maximum diameter of the sealing is 1.62 cms. and the minimum diameter is 1.25 cms. Length of the oval stamped surface is nearly 1.4 cms. and the breadth is nearly .65 cm. Diameter of the circular stamped surface is nearly .6 cm.

From linguistic point of view, the name *Dhamalata* of the legend is to be derived from *Dharmalabdha* from which it has been Prakriticised into *Dharmalābha* > *Dharmalāta*, on phonological principle.

2. The second sealing, obtained during my visit to Siswania with my father on 1st March, 1975, through the courtesy of Baba Mangaldas, a Hindu sadhu and social worker, who had been in possession of the Rāma-Jānakī tempel, situated on the top of the mound, bears out the specific period to which it belongs. It has, like the previous one, an early Brāhmī legend which my father deciphered to be (I) *adevasa* (= *Indradevasya*). There is a symbol or monogram after the letters which

may be identified as the Ujjayin symbol



. Pl. VI. 9.

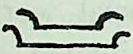
The sealing, an oval tablet of not fully baked clay, measuring 2.02 cms. in length and 1.85 cms. in breadth, has an oval stamped surface, measuring about 1.7 cms. in length and about .9 cm. in breadth. The maximum thickness of the sealing is 1.1 cms. with a pronounced semicircular back.

B. Bone Seal of Pushyadatta (c. 5th century AD) from Silsila

The seal was found by my maternal grandfather Dr. Durga Prasad Pandey, an archaeologist and educationist, who collected a large number of artifacts from Silsila in Bihar. Evidently, these were obtained in one of his archaeological reconnaissances in this part of Bhabhua subdivision of Rohtas district. Silsila is near village Bhagwanpur which according to Dr Pandey contains a rock-promontory having a long inscription describing son-wishing worship rite (*putreshti yajña*) performed by a local chieftain. The locality which is known as Rajkumari, the royal precinct, has images of Sūrya and Viṣṇu sculpted between 5th and 7th centuries AD. Dr. Pandey, having returned from Holland after finishing

his archaeological studies under Dr J. Ph. Vogel and other distinguished European scholars, started explorations in this region in 1941. Subsequently, he had a trial digging also in the lower part of the mound in a trench which measured 15'X5'. During these explorations he obtained more than a hundred coins, ranging from silver punch-marked to Kushana, Gupta Indo-Sassanian and Muslim coins along with the above mentioned seal.

The bone seal is conical in shape and is perforated through the conical portion in order to tie it with some object. Its flat oval bottom contains the legend *Pushyadata* (= *Pushyadatta*) in the 4th or 5th century AD Brāhmī script within a bordered line. Above the legend is a symbol which is unidentifiable. Between the symbol and the legend are two hori-

zontal lines curved at ends like hooks  (Pl. VI. 10a and b for impression). The maximum thickness including the conical portion of the seal is 1.33 cms. Length of the flat oval bottom of the seal is 1.95 cms. and its breadth is 1.70 cms. The diameter of the perforations on both sides is about 4 cms. The deft chiselling in the back has resulted in stretching of the two edged lines from top of the cone to the two points of the oval length.

In the absence of epithets it is difficult to say if this seal belonged to some ruling chieftain or official or a merchant.

C. Clay Votive Sealing from Sarnath

The fourth object is a votive clay sealing which is not different from the known type as found in the archaeological excavations at Sarnath. I got it from a labourer, Devsaran of the adjacent village Ghurahupur, who picked it from the lawns of the archaeological museum of Sarnath while digging for planting flowers. The sealing was partly damaged by the labourer's own instrument.

The stamped surface of the damaged sealing contains the famous Buddhist creed in minute letters of Nāgarī character of about 10th century AD legibly impressed in five lines. It reads as :

1. y(e) dharmā hetu prabha
2. vā hetu (m) teshām Tathāgat (o)
3. (hya) vadatt (e) shām cha yo ni
4. (rodha e) vaṁ vādī mahā
5. Śramaṇa) h. Pl. VI. 11.

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Such votive seals have been discovered during the several explorations and excavations of the Buddhist site of Sarnath.¹ The characteristic formula, being the essence of the Buddha's doctrine, occurs frequently in inscribed sculptures and terracotta objects. This substantiates the Buddhist theory of causation of discursive continuity. Thus, it means that the phenomena arising from a cause have their cause explained by the Tathāgata (Buddha). The great Śramaṇa has likewise, revealed their cessation.

The above sealing is designed in a rough circular form and is made of well backed clay measuring 2.33 cms. in diameter. Its maximum thickness is .93 cm. The raised rim partly and the lower left quarter containing a portion of the stamped circular surface are damaged. The semicircular back has a dim thumb-imprint.

D. Clay Sealing of Mahārāja Kautsīputra Bhadramagha from Kauśāmbī

The sealing is a clay antiquity, black in colour. It was bought at Kauśāmbī in Allahabad district during a minor exploration which I carried along with my father. The sealing was purchased for fifteen rupees from Shyamlal, a resident of the village Gadhwa in Kauśāmbī on 26th October, 1978. It is a remarkable piece of antiquity as it belongs to a second century Magha ruler who doubtlessly ruled over the region at the time of recession of the Kushana power. A clay sealing of Bhadramagha has been recently notified in Allahabad Museum (S/R No. 532)² which is slightly different from the one described here. Bhadramagha is known from coins and inscriptions as well. In inscriptions discovered at Kauśāmbī, there are given specific dates of Bhadramagha's rule, ranging between 81 and 87 (i. e. AD 159 and 165).³ With the find of the new sealings it is possible to alter the views of earlier scholar including Altekar,⁴ D. C. Sircar⁵ and S. Chattopadhyaya⁶ to highlight the relation-

1. Sahni, Daya Ram, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*, Calcutta, 1914, pp. 309-13.
2. Tripathi, R. R., New Clay Sealings From Kauśāmbī, *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIV, 1977, pp. 27-31; Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Kauśāmbī Hoard of Magha Coins*, p. 26.
3. *EI*, vol XXIV, p. 255; Vol XVIII, p. 163.
4. *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI : *The Vākātaka Gupta Age*, ed. Majumdar, R. C. and Altekar, A. S., Banaras, 1954, p. 40.
5. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. II : *The Age of Imperial Unity* ed. Majumdar, R. C., Bombay, 1968, p. 176.
6. *Early History of North India*, 3rd Revised Edition, Delhi 1976, p. 142.

ship of the three rulers being the sons of Kautsi. The brothers ruled, simultaneously and also one after the other, in Kauśāmbī and its adjacent regions. Their relationship with each other was not clear to the above scholars. The rulers whom I think to be brothers, were Praushthasri, Bhādrāmagha and Sivāmagha.

The present sealing bears on its stamped oval surface in Brāhmī letters of the 2nd century AD the legend *Mahārājasya Kautsīputrasya Śrī Bha (dramaghasya)*. Pl. VI. 12a. Above it and on the left side is the figure of a bow with arrow, pointing to left. Traces of a bull are clear on its right above the centre of the stamped surface. The half baked sealing had black polish and upon the roughly circular clay-lump the oval shaped stamp is impressed. The stamped surface measures 2.41 cms. in length and about 1.5 cms. in breadth. From left to right the length of the sealing is also 2.41 cms. and its breadth is 2.67 cms. The maximum thickness is 1.15 cms. Thumb impression to the left side of the stamped surface and string mark at its back are apparent. (Pl. VI. 12 b.)

E. Clay Textile-Stamp from Kauśāmbī

A fascinating moulded clay stamp, black in colour, supposedly meant for textile printing, was obtained by us in the above exploration from village Gadhwa in Kauśāmbī. This stamp is also a surface find as we had it from local men. It is a circular moulded object with floral design having five petals, arranged in a curvilinear clockwise pattern. Each of the petals, stemming out from a beaded circle, contains fifteen to seventeen rows of uniformly stalked single, double and triple dots on either side of the curved line. The beaded circle has a bunch of seven flowers, made of seven or eight dots, arranged around a nucleating design having thirteen dots in a circle, connected with the axle by spokes. The entire design is calculated to bring in exquisite effect when stamped. The fabrication alone does not allow a proper attribution of its time. The stamp with dark-brown polish has a flat black. Its diameter is 5.52 cms. and maximum thickness is .91 cm. The thickness of the slightly elated rim is .31 cm. Pl. VI. 13a and b.

INSCRIBED TERRACOTTA SEALINGS FROM VAIŚĀLĪ

BRAJDEO PRASAD ROY

(Pl. VII. 1)

Excavations conducted at Vaiśālī in 1903-4 have brought to light 720 specimens of terracotta seals, sealings and tokens.¹ In 1913-14, encouraging number of such antiquities were discovered.² From the same site, 93 such objects were unearthed.³ A large number of them bear legends in Aśokan, Śuṅga, Kushāṇa and Gupta Brāhmī. Most of these belong to the Gupta period. The legends on them from the Maurya to the Kushāṇa period are in Prakṛit but those belonging to the Gupta period are in Sanskrit. These throw light on political, socio-economic, religious and cultural life of the people. It is a matter of great regret that the scholars who studied them have misinterpreted some of the legends. It is essential to interpret them in their true philological and historical perspective. However, we propose to study a few inscribed terracotta sealings as published under the title "*Vaiśālī Excavations*" (1958-62).⁴

On a terracotta token (Reg. no. 3209/G, 1957-60) the legend in Brāhmī characters of the 3rd century BC is "*Budhalakhitasa*". The learned authors think that the token belonged to the place or spot or abode which was already seen by the Buddha. In their view, it belonged to one of the spots of Vaiśālī which the Buddha had already graced and it confirms the literary accounts of the Buddha's visit to Vaiśālī. This interpretation of the term in question is completely conjectural. Its Sanskritised form is *Buddha-rakshitasya*. This token belonged to some Buddhist *bhikṣu* named Buddha-rakṣhita who had some authority in the local Buddhist *saṅgha*. The term *lakhita* or *rakṣhita* does not mean 'seen' or 'visited' or 'graced' but 'protected' or 'guarded'.⁵ Thus, *Budhalakhita* simply means "protected by

1. ASI, 1903-4.

2. *Ibid.*, 1913-14.

3. *Vaiśālī Excavations* (1954-62).

4. *VE*, Edited by Dr. B. P. S nha and Sita Ram Roy, Patna, 1969.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

6. M. Williams, *SED*, p. 860.

the Buddha". So, it is wrong to speculate about the place graced by Buddha at Vaiśālī.

Another tettacotta sealing¹ (Reg. no. 1000/G, 1958-59) bears the legend in Brāhmī characters of the 2nd century BC. It runs into four lines but some of the letters are missing. When restored, it has been read as "(raño or sirī) Agimita mamīyāye koṭhā (or ṭa) kārasa vīthi" (Pl.VII.1), meaning, personal (seal of) 'the market or shop (owned by) the fort commander or the store officer who was a relation of king Agnimitra through the latter's maternal uncle'.² This legend also has been misinterpreted and fanciful imaginations have been made to highlight the importance of Vaiśālī as a centre of trade and commerce beside proving that in those days, the high ranking govt. officials also conducted private trade resulting in much personal profit.³ Two important terms in the legend namely *koṭhākāras* and *vīthi* have been much discussed by them.

The term *koṭhākāra* is correct reading which in Sanskrit is *kosh-ṭhāgra* meaning store. Kauṭilya has written much about the plan of *koshṭhāgāra*, such as, the objects to be stored in it and the duties of the *koshṭhāgārādhyaksha*.⁴ It seems that in the Śuṅga period also, there was a royal store at Vaiśālī. The authors suggest that *koṭhākāra* might be a variant of *koṭapāla*, meaning, fort commander. But 'ka' is never changed into 'pa' so this interpretation appears to be unconvincing.

The term *vīthi* has been used in the sense of a market place, but unless otherwise stated, it simply means a street, a lane and a road. In the early Buddhist literature, there are references to the *vīthis* named after the professionals inhabiting them or owning their workshops or shops such as the *svarṇakāravīthi* and *mālākāravīthi*. So, the terms 'Koṭhākārasa vīthi' simply means the "street in which the royal store was situated". It does not mean the shop or market place owned by the fort commander or the store officer. Here, there is no reference to the said officer but only to the store and street. Taken together, the complete legend means '(the seal of) the person who was a relation of Agnimitra through the latter's maternal uncle and who lived in the street in which the royal store was situated (*koṭhākāras*

1. VE, p. 116; JBRS, Vol. XLV, pp. 313-17.

2. VE, p. 117.

3. Ibid, p. 118.

4. Arthaśāstra, 2.5, 15.

vīthi). The glaring example of this analogy in Patna is the famous Bank Road by the side of which the building of the State Bank of India is standing. Another analogy is the Parliament street in New Delhi. It means the road by the side of which the Parliament's building is situated. On the basis of this logical interpretation, the connotations of the learned authors appear to be completely unconvincing.

A terracotta sealing¹ (Reg. no. 2043/6. 1958-59) bears the legend "*rāño Akhamitas*" in Brāhmī characters of the 2nd century BC. The name of this king also has been wrongly interpreted as Rājā Agnimitra.² "*Kha*" is never changed into "*ga*" but always into '*ksha*' so its correct transformation into Sanskrit should be *Rājñah Akshmitrasya*. According to the rules of philology *kha* is changed into *ksha* such as *lākha*, *ānkha* and *Lakhana* are changed into *lākshā*, *aksha* and *Lakshmaṇa* respectively. It seems that Rājā Akshamitra belonged to the Śuṅga dynasty who ruled at Vaiśālī sometimes after the death of Pushyamitra. He did not belong to the main line of the Śuṅga rulers because in the Purāṇic list of the Śuṅga kings, his name has not been mentioned. He is not known by any other source whether literary or archaeological. He might have been a king who ruled for a short period.

The next terracotta sealing³ (Reg. no. 2348/G, 1958-59) bears the legend "*mārgādimūlakamallāhara*", in Gupta Brāhmī characters. It has been explained as "remnant of an oblation prepared of root which was taken as diet in the way (journey)". It has been suggested that the seal belonged to a religious minded travelling group, members of which did not take full diet while in journey and depended only upon the remnant of oblation.⁴ This interpretation also appears to be fanciful. It is noteworthy that there is no term in this legend which denotes oblation. It clearly refers to the mendicants and pilgrims who in the course of their journey (*mārga*) took only *mūlām* and *kamalām* as their diet. In this context *mūlām* means roots, the edibles obtained by digging the earth. Kauṭilya⁵ refers to the seeds of *mūlām* along with those of *pushpām* (flower), *phalām* (fruits) and

1. *VE*, p. 119.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Arthaśāstra*, 224.

śāka (leafy vegetables) etc. Aśoka¹ also mentions '*mūlam*' and '*phalam*' which were planted in different parts of his empire. *Mūlam* includes *sakarkanda* (sweet potato), potato, radish and carrot etc. *Kamalam* was also eaten in different forms, such as, its flowers, fruits and roots. Thus, this legend does not refer to the remnants of oblations prepared of roots.

The terracotta sealing² under review (Reg. no. 1816/G, 1958-59) has over it the legend "*latāghaṭavāraṃ*" in Gupta Brāhmī characters. It has been interpreted by the learned authors as "an earthen water pot with creeper".³ It is noteworthy that the authors have missed the appropriate meaning of the term *vāraṃ* and have interpreted it as *vāri*, meaning, water. *Vāraṃ* is a completely different term from *vāri*. *Vāraṃ* means anything which covers or surrounds. It also means a cover, a gate, a doorway and anything enclosed or circumscribed in space or time.⁴ *Latāghaṭa*, vessel containing creepers was an auspicious symbol. Such pots were put at the gateways and doors on certain ceremonial occasions.

Besides the aforesaid legends there is an interesting legend on another terracotta sealing (Reg. no. 3027/G, 1959-60) inscribed in Gupta Brāhmī characters.⁵ It reads *Varṇaka Charaṇasya* and *Devīlasya*. This too has been interpreted wrongly. By *Varṇaka* they mean a demi-god considered as Śiva's *gaṇa* and by *charaṇa* they mean feet. According to the learned authors, both words together mean "the foot of a *gaṇa* of Śiva". It is very difficult to accept this imaginative interpretation of the legend. It makes no sense altogether.

*Charaṇa*⁶ represents the type of educational institution in which one particular recension or *śākhā* of the *Vedas* was studied by a group of pupils called after the original founder and organised as a corporate body. By the time of Paṇini, several such *charaṇas* were fully developed. The Gupta kings patronised Vedic studies and in this situation it was convenient for the *charaṇas* to propagate the vedic studies. In this light, the correct interpretation of the legend *Varṇaka charaṇasya* is the school of Vedic

1. RE, II.

2. VE, p. 123.

3. Ibid.

4. SED, p. 943.

5. VE, p. 126.

6. *Aṣṭā*, 2. 4. 3; Agrawala, V. S.: *India as Known to Pāṇini*, pp. 295-96.

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studies originally founded by Varṇaka and Devīla was its āchāryā when the seal was issued.

A terracotta sealing' (Reg. no. 3053/G. 1959-60) bears the legend *Saraka atavī* in Gupta Brāhmī characters which has been interpreted as "wind-forest or roaming place of wind". This too does not make any sense. *Sara* or *saraka* was a kind of plant and *atavī* means a small jungle. So it means a forest of *saraka* or *sara* plants. This seal belonged to the owner of that forest.

There are several other inscribed seals and sealings which need reassessment so that correct interpretations may be made of the legends. Studied correctly, they may throw welcome light on different aspects of our history.

1. *VE*, p. 126.

2. *SED*, p. 1182.

A BRONZE SEAL FROM PALLU

DEVENDRA HANDA

(Pl. VI. 1-2.)

Pallu is a well-known ancient site in district Sri Ganganagar of Rajasthan. It is located about 80 km. south of Hanumangarh on Ganganagar-Jaipur highway. A bronze seal, 2.2 cms. in diameter, collected from here by Pt. Mauji Ram Bharadwaj of Nohar is now housed in the Nagara-Sri (Museum) at Churu, Rajasthan. It bears the following Persian legend: "*Suhāchand ibn Jhasaldāsa Rāmanāma. Haracharna vas [Year] 1048.*" (Pl. VI. 1. seal, 2. impression).

The seal belonged to Sahāchand son of Jhasaldās, resident of Haricharnvasa (or living at the feet of Hara, i. e., Śiva).¹

The date AH 1048 (= 1638-39) falls in the reign of the Mughal emperor Shāh-e-Jahān.

Nothing, however, is known about Sahāchand. He may have been some local official or an influential person.

1. [Here the author seems to have missed the word *Rāmanāma* which he has read in the seal. If taken this word also into consideration the seal may be interpreted in another way also. *Rāmanāma* shows the owner's religious affiliation to Vaishṇava faith and hence the next word should be *Haricharanavāsa* and not *Haracharanavāsa*. It should mean (one who desires) to live at the feet of Hari (= Viṣṇu = Rāma). TPV].

ĀHATA : A SEMANTIC STUDY

V. S. PATHAK

I had an opportunity to discuss in a conference of numismatists the semantics to a few words of numismatic import. One of the words was *āhata*, which against the current view, I interpreted in the sense of 'moulded.' The occasion demanded a brief survey of the subject, and hence the treatment on that occasion was necessarily brief. Since the word *āhata* occupies an important place in numismatic terminology, some of my friends, whose opinion I value, desired further information. At their instance, I propose to discuss here the semantics and incidentally the morphology of the word in some detail.

The problem emanated from this interpretation of an aphorism in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, which requires the addition of suffix *ya* to *rūpa* when the meaning *āhata* or praise is intended—*rūpādāhata praśaṁśa-yoryap* (V. 2. 120). The word *rūpya* (rup-ya) means an object, the form of which arises from its being *āhata*—*āhata tvād—rūpaṁ yasya*. Since, *rūpya* (Skt.) > *rūpiya* (Pāli) > *ruppiya* > *ruvviya* (Prākṛit, Apabhraṁśa) mean a coin, the term becomes of some interest to numsmatists, for *āhata* evidently indicates a method of manufacturing coins. My teacher Prof. V. S. Agrawala of revered memory with a keen insight detected the association, and presumably because of the root *han* to kill, to smite to beat, suggested that *āhata* denotes punch-marked coins as *rūpas* (symbols) are beaten into them.

The suggestion may seek to find support from the *Kāśikā* which refers to *nighāṭikā-tāḍana* 'beating on the anvil' in connection with *āhata*. Evidence from Pāli literature may also be cited in support of the suggestion. Thus, in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, I, p. 70 (*Lakkhaṇāhata-vatthu*) it is stated :

कथं हि नाम समणा सक्यपुत्तियो लक्खणाहतं कतदण्डकम्मं पब्बाजेस्सन्तीति ।

'How, indeed, do the monks of the order Śākyaputra initiate into monk-hood the person who has committed crime (and consequently) who is tortured with marks cut or branded on his body?' *Lakkhaṇa-āhata* is interesting. In view of the collocation of *lakshana* (mark), one is

tempted to construe *āhata* to mean 'stamped, punched'. The argument may be further strengthened by the phrase *tilaka = āhatagatta* (*Majjhima-nikāya*, I, p. 122) which has been explained as *Kāla-setāhi vaṇṇehi tilakehi āhata-gattam* the 'body which is *āhata* with spots of white and black colours. In collocation of colours, one may hazard to construe *āhata* as to carry the association of *rūpa* i. e. image or symbol.

These arguments are, however, not conclusive. The evidence from the *Kāśikā* is a little suspect, since the work was composed more than a millenium after Pāṇini, and as we shall presently see the meaning of *āhata* as a process for manufacturing coins has gone out of vogue much earlier-several centuries before Christian era whereas the meaning of *āhata* as beaten, injured etc. continues to the present day. It is quite natural to find *āhata* in the sense of beaten, but that need not be the meaning intended by Pāṇini.

The argument based on *lakṣaṇāhata* is quite ingenious but not really germane to the discussion. The word *āhata*, sometimes with suffixes, sometimes in compounds, occurs frequently in Pāli literature, but invariably in the sense of beaten, injured and never conveying the idea of stamping or punching. Thus, *tilaka = āhata* occurs in the description of an ugly human form :

गतयोब्बनं खण्डदन्तं पलितकेसं विलूनं खलितसिरं वलिनं तिलकाहतगतम् ।

Here, the phrase definitely means "afflicted with the disease of freckles resulting into the black and white spots on the body." Again before the *Lakkhaṇāhata-vatthu* figures the *Kasāhata-vatthu* (p. 7a) where it is stated :

कथं हि नाम समणा सकयपुत्तिया कसाहतं कतदण्डकम्मं पब्बाजेस्सतीति । *Ibid.* p. 79.

How do really the monks of Śākyaputra's order initiate into monkhood the person who has committed a crime and who (as a punishment) has been beaten with a whip ?

Again the word in a compound *āhata-chitta* figures in Pāli in the sense of 'afflicted mind'; with suffix *ka* as *āhataka*, it denotes 'a slave who is beaten (by the master)'. Here we may also recall the method of punishment called *kahāpaṇikā*, after the coins of the category of *kahāpaṇa* *kārshāpaṇa* :—

एकच्चो पस्सति चोरं आगुचारिं राजानो गहेत्वा विविधा कम्मकारणा कारेतो, कसाहिपि तालेन्ते, वेत्तेहि पि ताकेन्ते..... हत्थं पि छिन्दन्ते, पादं पि छिन्दन्ते..... कहापाणिकं पि करोन्ते..... ।

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‘Administrators (*rājāno*) having arrested a thief torture him in various ways; they beat him with a whip; they beat him with a cane: they tear off his hand; they tear off his leg; they also do the *kaḥāpanikā*, i. e. they cut off with a sharp razor flesh of the size of a *kārshāpana* coin all over his body.’

Lakkhaṇāhata is to be interpreted in this context. It means “tortured by cutting or branding signs on the body of a criminal.”

The cutting-branding method consists in tattooing marks or patterns on body with a heated copper-knife as mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* (VI. 141. 2) or with a brand of sugar-cane stem as recommended in the *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā* (IV. 2. 9). It is in no way connected with punching.

The process of punching or stamping is referred to and described in literature at several places. It will be a little out of place here to describe, on the basis of literary data, the process in detail. I shall therefore touch upon only the broad features to differentiate it from the branding-cutting process, and to show that the terms used for them are not derived from the root *han*.

From about the third century BC, *ṭaṅka*, a chisel-like metallic object bearing a design at the top became popular for punching a small and individual pattern on coins and other objects. The device, however, has an antecedent development, an aspect of which is disclosed through words derived from the roots *rip-lip* and *rikh-likh*. Later, however, *pinaddha* (Skt) > *pilandhana* (Pāli) came into vogue for denoting the stamping device. It probably first came into existence for raising in relief the repeated designs on ornaments or fashioning ornaments themselves in a large number. It has been described with interesting details in various Pāli works. For example, the following extract from the *Āṅguttara-Nikāya* :

यस्सा यस्सा च पिलन्धन-विकतिया आकंखति—यदि मुद्दिक्काय, यदि कुण्डलाय, यदि गोवेय्यकाय, यदि सुवण्णमालाय तं चस्स अत्थं अनुभोति । —अंगुत्तरनिकाय, II p. 286.

In this process, a stamp of hard substance, bronze or iron is prepared. The design is created in repousse on the stamp by chasing, grinding and filing. Then the precious metal on which the design is to be stamped is cleansed of internal impurities and annealed, after which the stamp with the over-all pattern pressed or, if required, hammered.

The stamping device gets converted into punching when only a small and single design is created on the stamp. The identity of stamping and punching devices is borne out by the identity of the term for stamping and punching. Thus, *pilandhana* which as we have seen indicates stamping of ornaments or ornamental patterns is used as *pinaddha* by Kauṭilya who enjoins that the beam of the balance in the office of the Superintendent for Balance and Measures should be punched with the Nandī symbol :

अक्षेषु नान्दी-पिनद्धं कारयेत् । II. 37.

To conclude, *āhata* is used in Pāli language in the sense of 'injured, afflicted, beaten' etc.; it does not mean 'branded or cut'. Further, even the process of cutting or branding was substantially different from the device of punching which is technologically and linguistically aligned with stamping—a technique used for fashioning ornaments. Lastly, the words for punching/stamping are not derived from the root *han* to beat of which past participle is *āhata*. In short, *āhata* in the sense of beaten is in no way indicative of the method of punching coins.

The root *han* of which *āhata* is the past participle is traced to the Indo-European *gwhen*.* The phoneme *gwh* is labio-velar and sonant aspirate of the Indo-European, which changed in the various Indo-European languages. In Slavonic and Iranian, the aspiration is lost, in Greek it is changed into the corresponding surd aspirate, and in Latin into a fricative. In Sanskrit it is weakened into *h*. For example :

IE	Skt	GK	Latin
<i>gwh</i> °	<i>gharmas</i>	<i>thermos</i>	<i>formus</i>
	<i>jaghāna</i>	<i>e-pe-phon</i>	
	<i>hanti</i>	<i>thenei</i>	<i>fendit</i> .

Following this phonetic law, *Gwhen* is found in Greek as *thenei*. Latin *fendere*, Sanskrit *han*, Avesta Old Persian *jan*, *gan*, Modern Persian *gan*, Armenian *ganem*, Lithuanian *ginti* etc., all in the sense of 'killing, striking'. At the same time, *gwhen* also indicated 'filling in, stuffing, making complete, blooming'. *Ogwhen*, IE., is transformed into Greek *euthenes* (blooms), Armenian *Yogn* (lot, whole), Lithuanian *gana* (sufficient), Church Slavonic *goneti* (renders sufficient), and Old Persian *ajaniya* (moulded). In Modern Persian *āgnish* (stuffing), *āgnah* (stuffing of wool or lining), *āgnidan* (to stuff) are still current.

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This second meaning of the derivatives of *ogwhen* based on the comparative philology is neatly corroborated by the contextual references in the Vedic literature. In this paper, we shall study the two Vedic derivatives—*āhanas* and *āhata*.

At the outset it may be stated that the failure to understand the second meaning of *gwhen* < *han* has led to some confusion. Thus *āhanas* has puzzled the etymologists and lexicographers of the past and the present. Yāska assigns different meanings of the word in different places—sometimes 'deceitful' (*āhanana-vantaḥ vañchana-vantaḥ*, IV. 15) and sometimes 'struck by the vulgar speech' (*āhamśivetyasabhya-bhāṣaṇād-āhanā iva bhavati*, V. 2). Neisser (*Worterbuch Zum R̥gveda*) connects the word not with *han* but with *ghana* as if *ghana* is not derived from *han*. Sāyaṇa and Rajwade also show their bafflement.

The word *āhanas* occurs six times in the *R̥gveda*—thrice in connection with Soma—its juice or creeper, twice as descriptive of Yama-Yamī, and once referring to the creative activity of Parjanya, the Rain-god. In II. 13.1, the *soma* creepers are described as *āhanā* because the fluid, created by generatrix (*janitrī*) season (*ṛitu*, Latin *artus*, the orderly time-sequence) having entered into them develops—*aviśad-yāsu vardhate tad = āhanā*. This is the basic meaning. Here, we get the precise connotation of the word—the nucleus from which various shades, nuances and meanings radiated.

In. V. 12.13. Parjanya, the Rain-god is described as *āhanas* because of his "creating various forms in the womb of the Daughter (earth?)—*duhitur-vakṣaṇāsu rūpaṁ minano*). Here the Rain-god is evidently designated as *āhanas* because he pours in the womb of the earth the creative fluid, the rains. In the famous *Vāk-sūkta*, *āhanas* is the adjective of *some* meaning 'filled with fluid'. Likewise in IX. 75.5 the *āhanas* indicates the fluid, the *soma*-juice, which is described as *madā*, intoxicating.

Fourthly, Yāska comments on the verse rendering explicit the basic meaning as stated above, but unfortunately the commentary of Yāska has been misunderstood by Durga, as well as modern commentators and translators of the *Nirukta*. Yāska explains the intoxicating (*madā*) *āhanas* of Soma as *āhanana-vantaḥ vañchana-vantaḥ* (*Nirukta*, IV. 5). Durga takes *vañchana* as 'fraud, delusion' (*sam-moha*), Yāska, however, uses the word in its primary Vedic meaning.

Vañchana from *vachi*, to move (*Nighaṇṭu*, 2.14 *Kshīrasvāmin* and others), to move crookedly (*Whitney*) to be enclosed, to be crooked (*Pokorni*), in fact, means 'enters within'. Its references in *RV*, IX. 72 and X. 48.7 '*ā vachasya chamvoḥ*' (O *Soma*), you enter into (*ā-viśa*, *Sāyana*) into the vessel (*Chamu*), in *AV*, IV. 16.2 *vañchati yo nilāyaṁ* 'who slithers into a hole', establishes almost conclusively the meaning of *vañchana* as 'inward movement' *vañchana-vantaḥ*, characterised by the inward movement which squares neatly with the Vedic statement that is *āhanas* in which something (liquid like *Soma* juice) enters. In V. 12.13 *Parjanya*, the Rain-god is described as *āhanas* because of his creating various forms in the womb of the Daughter (earth ?)—*duhiturvakshaṇāsu rūpaṁ minano*. The Rain-god is evidently designated as *āhanas* because he pours in the womb of the earth the fluid, the rains, which develop into various vegetal forms. Here *yāsu vardhate* of *RV*, V. 2. is expanded as *rūpaṁ minano* 'creating forms'.

At two places, *āhanas* appears as an epithet of *Yama* in an invocation by *Yamī* :

अन्येव मदाह्नो याहि त्वयं तेन विवृह रथ्येव चक्राः ।X. 10.8.

The frustrated *Yamī* admonishes *Yama*. "My *āhana*, you depart immediately and roll around with some one else like wheels in a chariot".

In X. 10.6 *Yamī* upbraids *Yama* :

कदु द्रव आह्नो वीच्यानृन् X. 10.6.

"*Āhana*, how do you tell a lie (or make a deceitful speech) to people ?"

Grassmann, *Geldner* and others have translated *āhana* as lover, lascivious, wanton, and this suits the context admirably well. From references in connection with *Soma*, we had come to the conclusion that *āhanas* means creative fluid, and metaphorically or by way of association it indicates receptacles or matrix, as also one who pours the fluid in the matrix. Thus, *Yama* the wanton is an *āhana* for *Yamī*. Because of the wanton association of the word, the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* describes the speakers of the *āhanayā* as persons who uses obscene and abusive language :

रिप्रतरा शपनतरा आहनस्यवादितरा भवन्ति ।X. 3.1.23.

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Again, this will explain squarely the significance of the *āhanasyā* ritual—*āhanasyad-vai retah sichyate*; 'with the chanting of *āhanasyā* hymn, the semen is scattered.'

In short, *āhanas* indicates primarily the filling in the creative fluid, and may be compared with the stuffing in *āgnidan* of Modern Persian, blooming *entheneis* of Greek, making complete of sufficient *Yo'gn* of the Armenian, and *gana*, *goneti* of the Slav Language. This perforce invites attention to a parallel concept of pouring *Sich* (Skt.) *hich* (Avesta) *Xew* (GK), *fundere* (Latin) etc. which ultimately results into the sense of metal-casting.

This leads us to the word *āhata*. Before citing Vedic evidence, I would like to quote a line from the Susa (F) inscription of Darius I, the Achemenian ruler :

ut : tya : istiś : ajaniya : kār : hya : Babruviya LL. 29-30

Kent translates it as ".....the sun-dried brick moulded : the Babylonian people it did (these tasks)." *Old Persian, Grammar and Lexicon*. p. 186.

The inscription purports to describe the construction of a palace at Susa and discusses *inter alia* the enlisting for its construction the services of the subjugated nations including the Babylonians who moulded the sun-dried bricks. *Enpassant* it may be noted that the practice of moulding bricks is traced back to the hoary antiquity of the Sumerian civilization and is continued even today throughout the Near East. Sir Seton Lloyd describes this antique practice : "The brick-maker works on a prepared piece of ground, with the mixture stacked on a mat beside him. The mould, which often consists of two brick-sized compartments, is filled, and the surplus mud is smoothed off with the hand. The mould is then removed by handles projecting on either side, and the bricks are left in place to dry, for a period which varies according to the heat of the sun" *History of Technology*, I, p. 461.

This extract describing the crude and probably the most primitive method of moulding is very important since it graphically explains how the ideas of filling in (the material, here, mixture or *piśe* in the case of bricks) eventually culminated into the concept of moulding—how the word for stuffing in came to denote blooming, moulding.

A kindred sense is associated with *āhata* in a verse of the *Atharva-veda* which is used as a charm for the easy delivery of a child. Similar verses are found in the *Rigveda* which have been specifically designated as the *garbha-srāviṇī-upanishad* 'the mystic teachings related to easy delivery of the child.' One of the three verses of this category :

एवा त्वं दशमास्य सहावेहि जरायुणा । RV, V. 78.8

'You embryo, come down with the slough.' Similarly a verse in the *Atharva-veda* runs :

नेव मसि न पीवसि नेद मज्जस्वाहतम् ।

अवैतु पृश्नि-शैवलं..... जरायु पथताम् ॥ I. 11.4

'Embryo is *āhata* neither in the flesh nor in the fat, nor even in the marrows but in *jarāyu*, the slough, therefore, like the variegated moss, you, Jarāyu, please step out (*adyatām*). Here, the word *āhata* evidently means 'filled within, enveloped in' the slough which is discarded and the enveloped object is retrieved.

We may also discuss the metaphorical/imaginative description of the bridal wagon of Sūryā as found in the *Rig-* and *Atharva-veda* :

शुची ते चक्रे यात्या व्यानो अक्ष आहतः । RV, X. 85.12; AV, XIV. 1.12.

'Shining (*śuchī*) are your two wheels while you move and *vyāna* (vi-√an, to breath) the vital breath is the *āhata* axle'.

Śuchī, the shining, as an adjective is quite suggestive and may indicate the shining metallic wheel in place of the usual wooden or of the unusual stony (*aśma-chakra*). Reference to silvery (? *rajatām*, VIII, 25, 28) and golden (*hiranyaya*, VII. 22.2; VIII. 1.25, 25) chariots are not infrequent. Even *prauga*, the forepart of the cart's pole (I. 35.5), *īsha*, the pole (VIII. 5.29), *nemi* or felly (I. 105.1) are described as golden. Wheels are specifically mentioned as golden:

टभा चक्रा हिरण्या VIII. 5.29

हिरण्यचक्रानयोदंष्ट्रान् I. 88.5

Likewise *aksha* or axiles are called golden-*akshohiranyayā* (VIII. 5.29). *Śuchi* or shining wheels of this imaginary bridal cart may therefore plausibly be interpreted as golden bright. Further, in the verse, *śuchī* of the wheels is balanced by the *āhata* character of the axle, which I tend to interpret as cast or moulded (out of shining metal), especially in view of

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the evidence from the *Atharvaveda*, the Susa (F) inscription of Darius I and cognates of *āhata* in various Indo-European languages.

Lastly we may consider the symbolic description of the cosmic wheel in the *Rigveda* :

द्वादशप्रथयश्चक्रमेकं त्रीणि नभ्यानि क उ तच्चिकेत ।

तस्मिन्साकं त्रिशता न शङ्खवोर्षिता षष्टिर्न चलाचलासः ॥ I. 164.48.

With slight emendation in the last part of the verse occurs in the *Atharvaveda* also :

नत्राहतास्त्रीणि शतानि शङ्खवः षष्टिश्च खीला अविचलाचलासः । X. 8.4.

Here, *śaṅkava* = *rpitā* has been substituted by *āhatāḥ śaṅkavāḥ*, thus equating *arpita* with *āhata*. The word *arpita* is quite interesting for understanding the ancient technology and art of writing, and I had an occasion to draw attention to some significant references to the word :

यद्यद्युत्तं लिखितं तदर्पणेन

‘Whatever is torn (or shining) is inscribed by *arpaṇa*, a stylus or a sharp-pointed instrument. Also

मन्मथलेख एष नलिनीपत्रं नखैरर्पितः । *Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam*, III. 24.

‘This love-letter is inscribed on lotus-leaf with nails.’ (Again *nakhai* = *arpitaḥ* may be compared with नलिनीपत्रे नहेहि निक्खितवण्णं करेहि, *ibid*).

In the present verse, *arpita* evidently means “fixed within, inserted within, inscribed within,” which accords well with the *āhata* meaning “filled within.”

It may be noted that the meaning of the Vedic words, or for that matter or any word in a primitive early, document are not like the precise definitions or scientific terms. They are more akin to symbols or suggestions with a number of ideas hovering around a nucleus. To determine the meaning of a Vedic word is to demarcate its sense-range-to locate the orbit on which the various nuances or shades run about, and after determining the sense-range the ideas, shades or nuances are to be arranged, of course, notionally in a sequence with reference to the nucleus. Thus, meaning of gwhen* > han ‘to fill in’ has formed a cluster and with the nucleus. ‘fill in’ radiates a number of ideas (a) to render sufficient or complete (b) to bloom, to develop (c) to mould, to fix within.

In short, the Vedic word *āhata* in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* means 'moulded', this is the meaning which was current in the Achaemenian empire in the 6th century BC. Pāṇini who was a resident of Śālātura, in the North Western Frontier of India and the Eastern frontier of the Achaemenian empire, and who flourished in *circa* fifth (or sixth ?) century BC, when there was a live contact between this part of our country with the Achaemenians, used the word in the meaning current there in contemporary times. Later, the word lost this meaning and appears rarely in Sanskrit literature.

Derivatives of $\bar{a} \sqrt{\text{han}}$ in this sense occur in the *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* also. Thus, the oft recurrent passage-*āhataṁ gabhe paśaḥ* (*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, 3.9.7.3; *Taittirīya Samhitā*, 7.4.9.3 etc.) means *pasa* is filled in *gabha*, where both these words have undergone a deliberate metathesis to conceal obscenity and mean respectively male and female organs.

The meaning is rendered further explicit in the following passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* :

‘षकाषको शकुन्तके’ ति । विड्वे शकुन्तिका हलगिति वञ्चतोतिविशो वै राष्ट्राय वञ्चन्त्या हन्ति गमे पसो निगल्गलीति धारकेति । XII. 2.9.6.

Here, *vañchanti*, is same as *āhanti* and it reminds *vañchana-vantaḥ āhanana-vantaḥ* of *Nirukta*'s passage quoted above. *Dhāraka* the receptacle is the *gabha* (the female organ which devours (*nigalgaliti*) *pasa* the male organ. Thus, the last part of the above passage means ‘they fill the *pasa* in the *gabha* which is the receptacle and which devours it.’

For example, the following verses from the *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhi-parven* to which Dr. V. S. Agrawala had drawn attention in his Presidential Address of the Numismatic Society in its Nagpur Session, 1950 :

ताम्रलोहैः परिवृता निधयो ये चतुः शताः ।
पञ्चद्रोणैक एकैकः स्वर्णस्याहतस्य वै ॥
जातरूपस्य मुख्यस्य अनर्घ्यस्य भारत ।
एदद् राजन् मम धनं दीव्याम्यहं त्वया ॥ LXI, 29, 30.

‘O king of the Bharata dynasty, I wager with you in the gamble with this property of mine which comprises four hundred treasure-chests each weighing five *dronas*, and containing the invaluable *āhata suvarṇa*, which is of the high purity (*mukhya*) and is *jātarūpa*.’

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For our purpose, two adjectives of gold-*jātarūpa* and *āhata* are significant. The current (*rūḥa*) meaning of the word is gold but this does not suit the context. It is used in its etymological (*yaugika*) sense-*jāta* (created, fashioned) *rūpa* (form) or as Devaraja Yajyā explains *anāhāry-atayā rūpaṁ yasya* : whose 'form' is alienable from the 'content', in other words 'a fashioned object of gold'. In this Story of Gambling, the word in this sense occurs in an earlier verse :

कोशो हिरण्यमक्षय्यं जातरूपमनेकशः ।

एतद् राजन् मम धनं दीव्याभ्यहं त्वया ॥ 2. *op. cit.*

Here *jātarūpa* figures as an adjective of *hiranya* and carries the sense of 'fashioned' articles of gold. *Āhata*, therefore, in all probability means 'moulded or cast.'

Secondly, in the above verse, the weight of the treasure-chest containing gold articles is given as five *drona*, the weight of the individual object is not specified which suggests the weight of the individual articles varied by the total weight, each of the four hundred chests was five *dronas*. There is hardly any possibility of *āhata* being 'gold punch-mark coins', it indicates cast articles of gold.

Thus from $\bar{a} \sqrt{\text{han}}$, to fill in, various meanings proliferated :—

$\bar{a} \sqrt{\text{han}}$ → to stuff in, to fill in → to render complete sufficient

↓
Creative liquid → lover, wanton

↓
mould

↓
Cast (metallic objects)

↓
Cast (coins)

But later this meaning of $\bar{a} \sqrt{\text{han}}$ went out of vogue; its journey from the pre-historic time came to end, probably because $\sqrt{\text{sich}}$ to cast became popular, and it gave a knockout blow to $\bar{a} \sqrt{\text{han}}$. But the other meaning of $\bar{a} \sqrt{\text{han}}$ to beat, to strike tradged its weary way to modern times.

COINS IN THE NĀRADASMṚITI'S CHAPTER ON THEFT

RICHARD W. LARIVIERE

The *editio princeps* of the *Nāradaśmṛiti* edited by Julius Jolly contains an appendix on theft which Jolly included based on a single Newārī manuscript made available to him by Cecil Bendall of the British Museum.¹ In the process of preparing a new critical edition of the *Nāradaśmṛiti*, I have obtained microfilm copies of thirteen additional Newārī manuscripts² which contain the appendix on theft. The section contains an interesting passage denominating coins. According to Jolly's verse numbers, but with the new manuscript evidence changing some of Jolly's readings, the passage is as follows :

काकण्यादिस्तु यो दण्डः स तु माषपरः स्मृतः ।

माषावराद्यो यः प्रोक्तः कार्षापणपरस्तु सः ॥55

कार्षापणापराद्यस्तु चतुः कार्षापणः परः ।

द्वयवरो ऽष्टपरश्चान्यस्त्रयवरो द्वादशोत्तरः ॥56

कार्षापणाद्या ये प्रोक्ताः सर्वे ते स्युश्चतुर्गुणाः ।

एवमन्ये तु विज्ञेयाः प्राक् च तु पूर्वसाहस्रात् ॥56a³

कार्षापणो दक्षिणस्यां दिशि रौप्यः प्रवर्तते ।

पणैर्निबद्धः पूर्वस्यां विशस्ति पणाः स तु ॥57

माषो विंशतिभागस्तु ज्ञेयः कार्षापणस्य तु ।

काकणी तु चतुर्भागो माषस्य च पणस्य च ॥58

पंचनद्याः प्रदेशे तु संज्ञा या व्यावहारिकी ।

कार्षापणप्रमाणं तु निबद्धमिह वै तथा ॥59

कार्षापणो ऽण्डिका ज्ञेयाश्चतस्रस्तास्तु धानकः ।

तद्द्वादश सुवर्णस्य दीनारश्चित्रकः स्मृतः ॥60

1. *The Institutes of Nārada together with copious extracts from the Nāradaśmṛiti and other standard commentaries*, edited by Julius Jolly, Bibliotheca Indica work no. 102, Calcutta : 1885-86, page 5.
2. These manuscripts are available thanks to the important work of the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Program, Kathmandu.
3. This verse was omitted in Jolly's single Newārī manuscript, but it is found in all the other Newārī manuscripts.

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Which I translate :

- 55 That punishment which begins with a *kākaṇī* is said to have as its maximum one *māsha*. That which begins with (5) *māshas* as its lowest is said to have as its maximum one *kārshāpaṇa*.
- 56 That which begins with a *kārshāpaṇa* as its lowest has as its maximum four *kārshāpaṇas*; two as a minimum has eight as a maximum; another has three as a minimum and twelve as its highest.
- 56a Those punishments which are said to start with *kārshāpaṇas* should all have four levels. The same goes for the others up to the heaviest fine.
- 57 In the South the silver *kārshāpaṇa* circulates. In the East it is composed of *paṇas* : twenty *paṇas*.
- 58 A *māsha* is known to be 1/20th of a *kārshāpaṇa* and a *kākaṇī* is 1/4 of a *māsha* or of a *paṇa*.
- 59 The common designation in the region of the Panjāb is applicable here for the value of a *kārshāpaṇa*.
- 60 A *kārshāpaṇa* is (also) known as an *aṇḍikā* and four of these are known as a *dhānaka*. Twelve of these are called a marked *dīnāra* of gold.

A careful reading of this passage will verify that it is not altogether clear. Let us begin with the question of the type of *kārshāpaṇa* which is prescribed for these fines. It is well known that in literary sources gold, silver, and copper *kārshāpaṇas* are mentioned;¹ in this passage the metal is not specified. The author tells us in verse 57 that in the South the *kārshāpaṇa* is made of silver. This would seem to indicate that in the author's region it is *not* made of silver. However, there is an alternative reading found in another recension of Nārada's *dharmaśāstra* the *Nārādīyamanusmṛitī* verse 19.11a-b :²

कार्षापणो दक्षिणस्यां दिशि रुढः प्रवर्तते ।

1. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, New Delhi : 1968, pages 93-94; also, D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, The Carmichael Lectures, 1921, Calcutta : 1921, pages 83-84.
2. Edited by K. Sāmbaśiva Sāstrī, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series no. 97, Trivandrum : 1929, page 192.

"In the South the ordinary *kārshāpaṇa* circulates." The commentator Bhavasvāmin says about this :

कार्षिणी दक्षिणस्यां दिशि द्रविलविषयादौ रुद्ध एक एव लोहैः कृतः रूपमानगणनायाम् ।

"Only one *kārshāpaṇa* (is found) in the South, i. e. in the Dravidian region, etc., and it is made with base metals (*lohah*) and has the value of a measure of silver."

In either reading, *raupyaḥ* or *rūḍhaḥ*, it seems clear that the coin of the South is pointed out as being different from the coin in the author's region. This means that the *kārshāpaṇa* is something other than silver or base metal (iron, etc.¹). This leaves only two alternatives—gold or copper. As mentioned previously, there are references to gold *kārshāpaṇas* in literature, but there is no archaeological evidence for the actual circulation of a gold *kārshāpaṇa*.² It must have been a rare coin. This would seem to support the assumption that the *kārshāpaṇa* spoken of in this passage is one of copper. This assumption gains some support from the passage in the *Vyavahāramayūkha*³

अत्र सर्वत्रानुक्तसंख्येया संख्या पणविषयिणी ज्ञेया । पणस्तु कर्षोन्मितं ताम्रम् । कार्षिके ताम्रिके पण इति कोशात् ।

"Here (on the subject of fines) whenever a number (is mentioned) without specifying what it refers to, it should be understood to mean *paṇas*. A *paṇa* is a (unit) of copper weighting one *karsha*. The lexicon (Amarakośa 2.9.88) says, 'A *paṇa* is a copper piece of one *karsha*.'"

Of course, this is not an unanimous view. Bhāruchi quoted in the *Sarasvatīvilāsa*,⁴ for example; says that numbers beginning with 100 (*śatādisamkhyā*) with unspecified currency should be taken to mean copper *paṇas*, but numbers beginning with 1,000 should be paid in gold *māshās*. It seems reasonable to conclude that the coins referred to in this passage on fines are copper *kārshāpaṇas*.

1. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pages 92-93.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *The Vyavahāramayūkha of Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha*, edited by P. V. Kane, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series no. 80, Poona : 1926, page 225.

4. Edited by R. Shama Sastry, Oriental Library Publications Sanskrit Series no. 71, Mysore : 1927, page 150.

If these are copper *kārshāpaṇas*, then what is the weight of one of these coins? The standard source for most of these units is, of course, the *Manusmṛiti* 8.132-138. Unfortunately, on the subject of copper coins, he simply says that one *karsha* of copper equals a copper *paṇa* or *kārshāpaṇa* without giving the weight of the *karsha*. The *Amarakośa* 2.9.86 defines the *ādyamāshaka* as equivalent in weight to 5 *guṇja* berries¹ (9.15 grains), and 16 *ādyamāshakas* are equal to a *karsha* (146.4 grains). The *Amarakośa* 2.9.88 : कर्षापणः कर्षिकः स्यात् कर्षिके ताम्रिके पणः which the 11th century commentator, Kshīrasvāmin, explains in this way :

कर्षसंबधिना पण्यते व्यवहियते ऽनेन रूप्यरूपकेण कर्षापणः । कर्षः प्रमाणमस्य कर्षिकः ।
ताम्रमयं कर्षप्रमाणं तु रूप्यं पणः ।

“A *kārshāpaṇa* is traded or exchanged with this silver coin weighing a *karsha*. A *kārshika* has one *karsha* as its weight. A coin made of copper and weighing one *karsha* is a *paṇa*.”

Thus the *Amarakośa* uses the word *kārshāpaṇa* (according to Kshīrasvāmin) for a silver coin of one *karsha* and the word *paṇa* exclusively for a copper coin of one *karsha*. Moreover, the weight of this *karsha* is 146.4 grains composed of sixteen *ādyamāshakas*.

Our *kārshāpaṇas* are stated to be not sixteen *māshakas*, but twenty *māshas* (verse 58 above) and in the same verse we are told that a *māsha* equals a *paṇa* both equal four *kākaṇīs* : but there is something wrong with the text here. In verse 58 we are told a *kārshāpaṇa* equals twenty *paṇas*, yet in verse 57 it is just that fact which supposedly distinguishes the *kārshāpaṇa* of the “East” from the *kārshāpaṇa* current in the author’s region. I would suggest here a change in the last *pāda* of verse 57—instead of विशतिस्तु पणाः स तु I would prefer the reading of the *Nāradyāmanusamhitā* 19.116 षोडशैव पणाः स तु. Not only does this make better sense in that the Eastern *kārshāpaṇa* would indeed be different from the author’s twenty *paṇa kārshāpaṇa*, but it is aesthetically better since it eliminates the repetition of the word “*tu*” in a single *pāda*. Also, assuming that the *kārshāpaṇa* of the East which is mentioned here in verse 57 is a silver coin, then the standard equivalent would be sixteen copper *paṇas*.²

1. The standard equivalent of one *guṇja* berry in Troy weight is 1.83 grains. See Sircar, *op. cit.*, page 74.
2. *Ibid.*, page 90.

There is still the problem of a twenty *paṇa* or twenty *māsha* *kārshā-paṇa*. If we have a *kārshāpaṇa* of 146.4 grains, then the *māshas* or *paṇas* of verse 58 cannot be the same as the *ādyamāshaka* of the *Amarakośa*; twenty of these would give us a *kārshāpaṇa* of 183 grains. It is possible, as suggested by D. R. Bhandarkar,¹ that the *māsha* may have been equal to only four *guṇja* berries or 7.22 grains ($\times 20 = 146.4$ grains). The twenty *māsha* *kārshā-paṇa* is well attested elsewhere.² There is even a little noticed verse of *Bṛihatparāśara*³ which claims that there are eighteen *māshas* per *karsha* : पंचगुंजो भवेन्माषः कर्षो ऽष्टादशभिश्च तैः । At least one authority has even claimed that there is a *kārshāpaṇa* equal to four *māshas*. Vardhamāna in the *Daṇḍaviveka*⁴ interprets verse 55 above to mean that since every grade of fine has four levels the one beginning with a *māsha* and ending with a *kārshāpaṇa* (verse 55) must mean a *māsha* equal to one fourth *kārshāpaṇa*. In sum, it is hard to argue with Vardhamāna when he says that there is confusion about the terms *māsha*, etc. because of their several meanings when used in rules about punishment (‘‘माषादिशब्दानां नानार्थतया दण्डविधावनध्यवसाये’’).

It is not much help when we are told in verse 59 above that the Panjabi value for a *kārshāpaṇa* applies. If the *pañchanadyāh* *pradeśa* is intended to mean *Āryāvarta* or the most traditional value for the *kārshāpaṇa* as found in say, the *Manusmṛiti*, then this statement is in conflict with verse 58 because Manu, Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇu, et. al. know a sixteen *māsha* *kārshā-paṇa* not twenty *māshas*. It is not clear either whether or not the names for coins in verse 60 are to be understood to be a part of the *pañchanadipradeśa* nomenclature.

In verse 60 we are told that the *kārshāpaṇa* is also known as an *aṇḍikā*. This *kārshāpaṇa* must be a copper one of 146.4 grains and this *aṇḍikā* is the same *aṇḍikā* known to the *Charakasaṁhitā*⁵ and the *Aṭishāṅgahrīdaya*⁶.

1. *Op. cit.*, page 112.

2. See Buddhaghosha's *Samantapāsādikā*, edited by Takakusu, Nagai, and Mizuno, Pali Text Society, 1924-47, vol. 2, page 297. Here the 5th c. AD author reports that in Bimbisāra's 5th c. BC capital the *kārshāpaṇa* was composed of 20 *māshakas*: तदा राजगृहे बीसतिमासको क्हापणो होति तस्मा पंचमासको पादो ।

3. Quoted by Nandapāṇḍita on *Viṣṇusmṛiti* 4.13, edited by Paṇḍit V. Krishnamacharya, Adyar Library Series, volume 93, Adyar : 1964, page 77.

4. Edited by Kamalakṛiṣṇa Smṛitīrthā, Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. 52, Baroda : 1931, page 28.

5. *Ibid.*, page 89.

6. Edited by Vāman Kesheo Dātār, Bombay : 1922, page 675.

7. Edited by Sankarā Sastri, Bombay : 1900, page 175.

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which has a weight of only four *yavas*, and which is only one fourth of a *māsha*. Beginning with the term *aṇḍikā*, all the rest of the terms refer to gold coins. The reading "*aṇḍikā*" is found in all the Newārī manuscripts, but in at least two other places where this verse occurs we find different readings. The *Nāradaīyamanusmṛhitā* 19.118 has the unlikely "*abdhikā*" and the *Daṇḍaviveka*¹ has the equally unusual "*trikā*". According to verse 60, four *aṇḍikā* equal one *dhānaka*. This is in agreement with the scheme of the *Charakasamhitā*,² as is the equation of twelve *dhānakas* with one *dīnāra* of gold. The result is that we have here, then, a statement of the relative value of copper to gold. One *dīnāra* of gold equals 58 *kārshāpaṇas* of copper.³

This *dīnāra* is probably the coin of the letter Gupta standard which equalled the traditional measure for gold coins, the *suvarṇa* (146.4 grains) as opposed to the original Kushana *dīnāra* which was closer to 124 grains in weight.⁴ The usual reading of the second half of this verse would seem to indicate that three names are given for this gold coin: तद्द्वादश सुवर्णस्तु दीनारश्चित्रक स्मृतः । which Kane has translated: "12 *dhānakas* as equal to one *suvarṇa* which is also called *dīnāra* and *chitraka*."⁵ The Newārī manuscripts are unanimous in the reading of verse 60 given above. It also seems likely that the metal-gold (*suvarṇa*) would be pointed out here and hence the genitive *suvarṇasya* would be preferable. There is, as far as I know, no other instance of a reference to a coin called a "*chitraka*" as Kane has translated this verse. I am doubtful that it is intended to be a name of a coin. It seems more likely that it is an adjective modifying *dīnāra*, and that it means a coin which has a hallmark which would attest to its accurate weight and purity. Such a description of coins (*chittavichitta*) is found in the *Visuddhimagga*⁷ where it is clear that the various kinds of marks referred to indicate the provenance of the coins.⁸

1. *Ed. cit.*, page 28.

2. *Loc. cit.*

3. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, page 189.

4. John Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, London : 1967 (reprint), page cxxxi.

5. *Kātyāyanasmṛiti* 494, edited by P. V. Kane, Poona : n. d., page 60.

6. *Ibid.*, page 213.

7. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pages 99-100.

8. See also *ibid.*, pages 126 and 128.

MEDIEVAL ORISSAN COINS AS A SOURCE OF HISTORY

D. K. GANGULY

As compared to epigraphs, literature and foreign accounts, coins have proved to be an inadequate source for the study of medieval Orissan history. This, however, does not mean that they do not have any importance at all.

A large number of small circular gold coins, described by numismatists as Gaṅga *fanams*,¹ has been discovered from different parts of Orissa. The obverse of these coins generally shows the figure of a recumbent bull along with on or two of such symbols as the conch-shell, crescent, *liṅgam*, etc. The reverse bears an Oriya *sa*, placed horizontally above, with the left face downwards; below the letter stand one or two numerical figures, indicative of the dates of their issue. In some cases, the top of these coins is occupied by a short legend of three letters which has tentatively been read by Hoernle² and Hultzsch³ as *Śrī-Gaṅga*. These coins vary in size between .37" and .42" and weigh between 6.87 and 8.37 grains.⁴

The attribution of the Gaṅga *fanams* is still a vexed question. Whereas Hultzsch assigns them to the Imperial Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chodagaṅga, A. C. Banerji⁵ suggests a much longer period extending over the rule of both the Early and Imperial Gaṅgas as the date of issue of these coins. The theory that these coins were the sole issues of Anantavarman Chodagaṅga, cannot be definitely proved in the absence of the name of the said king on the coins; but that they were struck by the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty seems to be fairly certain in view of the considerations, noted below.

1. *IA*, XXV, p. 322; *JASB* (1897), pp. *JAHRS*, V. pp. 249-50; *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 81-84; *ibid*, XXI, p. 77.
2. *JASB* (1897), p. 145.
3. *IA*, XXV, p. 322.
4. L. P. Pandey (*JAHRS*, III, pp. 181-82) reports the discovery from Balpur in Bilaspur district of a few gold and silver coins, containing, the letter *sa* and *ra* which he attributes to the Keśari king of Orissa and Dakṣiṇa Kosala. The ascription is doubtful.
5. *JNSI*, VIII, p. 112.

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First, the representation of the bull on the obverse of these coins which is the dynastic emblem of the Gaṅga kings. Secondly, the numerical figures, on these coins, strikingly similar to those of the Imperial Gaṅga inscriptions. And, finally, the reading of *Śrī-Gaṅga*. These coins have been found from different parts of Orissa like Cuttack, Angul, Dhenkanal and Ganjam¹ districts. The rule of the Early Gaṅgas did not extend beyond Ganjam in the north, whereas almost all the areas, covered by the provenances of these coins, are known² to have formed parts of the Imperial Gaṅga dominions, and accordingly, these coins may be assigned to the reign of Anantavarman Chodagaṅga and his successors. The discovery of a few coins of the series from Tamluk and the surrounding region in Midnapore district need not be taken as an indication of the territorial extension of the Gaṅga dominions to South-West Bengal which was popularly known as Daṇḍabhuki.

In 1942 were recovered 119 small gold coins at Parimalgiri³ in the erstwhile Patna estate. The obverse of these coins shows the figure of a lion in the centre but there is no concensus of opinion among scholars about the legend and devices on the reverse. P. C. Rath⁴ takes it to be *Śrī Rāma* and *Pātanā* and a numerical figure below. D. C. Sircar⁵ observes that the legend, *Pātanā* is only a combination of three symbols, an *ankūśa*, a *sa*-like symbol and a *kuthāra*, and suggests that the Parimalgiri coins may properly be grouped among the Gaṅga *fanams*. These coins, which vary in size between .41" and .44" and weigh between 7.37 and 7.42 grains are similar to the Gaṅga *fanams*, but the figure of a recumbent bull, the principal obverse device on the Gaṅga *fanams*, is absent on these coins.

R. C. Rath⁶ has attributed these coins to the Cauhan king Rāmadeva of Patna on the basis of the occurrence, on some coins, of

1. *AI*, XXV, p. 322.
2. R. Subba Rao (*JAHRS*, V, pp. 249-50) reports the discovery of the Gaṅga *fanams* at Kalingapattanam, Mukhalingam, etc in Srikakulam district. Sonpur in Sambalpur district has yielded 49 Gaṅga *fanams* (*JNSI*, XIII, p. 192-93).
3. *JNSI*, V, p. 61.
4. *Ibid*.
5. *SIN*, p. 248.
6. *JNSI*, V, p. 61.

the year 59 for which period Rāmadeva (c. AD 1212-71) is said to have ruled. This attribution cannot be accepted for, firstly, as suggested by D. C. Sircar, the latest date, on these coins is 24, and secondly, it is doubtful whether a petty ruler of Patna would have issued gold coins or any coins at all.¹

Gold coins of some Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur have been discovered at Sonpur² in Sambalpur district and Ratanpur³ in Puri district. Out of the twenty-seven Kalachuri coins from Sonpur, eleven are of Jājalladeva, five are assignable to Pṛthivīdeva and the remaining eleven were issued by Ratnadeva. Of the ten coins of Ratanpur, two are of Ratnadeva and eight belong to Pṛthivīdeva. These coins, which mostly belong to the *dramma* category, weighing between 60 and 62 grains, bear on the obverse the name of the issuer in two lines, while their reverse is occupied by the device of *Gaja-śārdūla*⁴ or of a lion, attacking an elephant on its back.

The discovery of the Kalachuri coins from Orissa has raised some intricate problems including the identification of Ratnadeva, Jājalladeva and Pṛthivīdeva, mentioned on these coins. Since, each of these names was assumed by more than one Kalachuri king of Ratnapur, the identity of the issuers of the coins is difficult. But as the coins of the three kings are found in close association in the Sonpur hoard, which has not yielded coins of any other Kalachuri king, it may legitimately be presumed that they ruled in succession with no ruler intervening between them. Hence Pṛthivīdeva of the coins could hardly have been Pṛthivīdeva III, for, king Jagaddeva ruled between the Jājalla II and Ratnadeva III, father and immediate predecessor of Pṛthivīdeva III. Nor can he be identified with Pṛthivīdeva I who as a subordinate ruler could not have struck coins.

1. The reading *Śrī-Rāma*, suggested by P. C. Rath, is not doubtful. D. C. Sircar (*SIN*, p. 251) assigns these coins to a date not much earlier than the fifteenth century AD.
2. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 199-201.
3. *Ibid*, XVII, part 2, pp. 58-63.
4. Smith, *IMC*, I, p. 254 took the reverse device to be a rampant lion; Mirashi (*JNSI*, III, p. 28) originally interpreted it as a horse but later on suggested it to be a *Gaja-śārdūla*, Hoernle held the symbol to be Hanuman but subsequently suggested an elephant, a horse or a bull instead. B. B. Nath (*JNSI*, XIII, p. 199) suggested correct interpretation.

Likewise, Ratnadeva can not be equated with Ratnadeva I, who was not an independent chief, or with Ratnadeva III. This Ratnadeva and Prithvīdeva of the coins may be identified with Ratnadeva II and Prithvīdeva II respectively. But Jājalladeva of the coins can be identified equally with Jājalladeva I or Jājalladeva II; both were independent and powerful monarchs and would fit in the continuity of the group of three kings, ruling in succession, as may be demonstrated by the charts, drawn below:

CHART ONE

Jājalladeva I (c. AD 1090—1120)

Ratnadeva II (c. AD 1120—1140)

Prithvīdeva II (c. AD 1140-1158)

CHART TWO

Ratnadeva II

Prithvīdeva II

Jājalladeva II (c. AD 1158—1167)

The palaeography of the coin legends does not provide any definite clue to the problem of the identification of Jājalladeva who, to judge from his gold coins, seems to have enjoyed a fairly prosperous reign. The reign of Jājalladeva I was an eventful one when a friendly alliance was concluded with the Chandellas and Gāhaḍavālas and victory was registered over the neighbouring kingdoms of Andhra, Khimiḍi and Suvarṇapura. But Jājalladeva II was a shadowy figure whose authority was possibly confined to the Chattisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh. The Sonpur and Ratanpur areas of Orissa lay outside the jurisdiction of his authority, but Jājalladeva I defeated king Bhujabala of Suvarṇapura or modern Sonpur and conquered Khimiḍi-*maṇḍala* usually identified with the erstwhile Khimidi estate in Ganjam. Jājalladeva of the coins may accordingly be equated with Jājalladeva I. Jājalladeva I was engaged in a series of conflicts throughout his reign, but that does not prove that 'he had no time in to look to internal administration of his dominions or to strike coins in his own name'. The case of the great Gupta monarch Samudragupta who waged many more wars and still issued several types of gold coins, is a pointer in this direction.

We now consider the presence of the coins of Jājalladeva and two of his immediate successors at Sonpur and Ratanpur. No inscription of the Kalachuries of Ratanpur has yet come to light in Orissa. The Ratanpur inscription, however, alludes to Jājalladeva I's hold over Sonpur (Sambalpur district) and Khimidi (Ganjam district). Whereas the coins of Jājalladeva I and his two immediate successors have been found at Sonpur those unearthed in Southern Orissa are only of the last two kings. It is hard to believe that the Kalachuri supremacy over Khimidi continued for long; Khimidi was far away from the Kalachuri base in Madhya Pradesh, and was in the very heart of the Imperial Gaṅga dominions. There is no definite proof that Ratnadeva II and Prithvideva II exercised their authority over any part of Southern Orissa, including Khimidi. Possibly the Kalachuri coins found at Ratanpur travelled to this distant part of Orissa by way of trade and commerce or were by migrants from the Kalachuri dominions. The Kalachuri rule at Sonpur and the surrounding area lasted for a longer period till the time of Prithvideva II.

The Kalachuri coins discovered in Orissa, depict on their reverse the device of *Gaja-śārdūla*. V. V. Mirashi¹ surmises that the Kalachuri kings adopted this device to proclaim their victory over the Imperial Gaṅgas, described as *Gajapatis*. But, though the Kalachuri kings were involved in a protracted conflict with the Imperial Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chodagaṅga and his son Jaṭeśvara-Kāmārṇava,² there is no evidence in favour of their absorption of any part of the Gaṅga dominions.³ Jajalladeva I conquered Khimidi from the Imperial Gaṅgas but this conquest was short-lived, and those who followed him, could not maintain their hold over Khimidi. These coins were primarily meant for circulation in Chhattisgarh and Sonpur region.⁴ Chhattisgarh was acquired

1. *JNSI*, XV, p. 210.

2. Kāmārṇava, the son of Anantavarman Chodagaṅga, is called Jaṭeśvara in an inscription at Mukhalingam.

3. The suggestion of B. B. Nath (*JNSI*, XV, p. 16) that the Chedis conquered Sonpur from the Imperial Gaṅgas is hardly compatible with the epigraphic evidence which speaks of Bhujabala as the deposed king of Sonpur.

4. A chemical analysis, conducted by S. K. Maity (*JNSI*, XII, pp. 273-75) has shown that there was a steady and gradual increase in the gold content of the coins of these Kalachuri kings of Tummana. The average percentage of pure gold of the

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by the Kalachuris of Ratanpur from the main Kalachuri family of Tripuri while Sonpur was wrested from king Bhujabala. V. V. Mirashi's interpretations of the reverse device of these coins can not be accepted without a proof of the Kalachuri occupation of a part of the Imperial Gaṅga dominions.¹

At Sonpur have been discovered twentyseven Yādava gold *Padma-taṅkas*² of which nine are of Siṅghaṇa, five of Kaṇhapa or Kṛishṇa, five of Mahādeva and three of Rāmachandra. Four gold *Padma-taṅkas*³ of Siṅghaṇa have been found at Parasadih in the erstwhile Raigarh estate in Chhattisgarh. These are cup-shaped coins with a blank reverse. Their obverse bears an eight-petalled lotus in the centre, and in four corners four symbols, including two auspicious symbols in old Kannada script, a conch and the name of the king. These coins are called *Padma-taṅkas* on account of the presence of the central figure, although the term does not occur in the contemporary literature and inscriptions. The kings, mentioned on these coins, are Siṅghaṇa II (c. AD 1210-1247), Kṛishṇa (c. AD 1247-60), Mahādeva (c. AD 1260-71) and Rāmachandra or Śrī Rīma (c. AD 1271-1309) belonging to the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri.

The discovery of the Yādava coins at Sonpur and Parasadih has sometime been interpreted⁴ to indicate the extension of the political

coins of Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Prithvīdeva II is 75.30, 84.80 and 92.5 grains respectively. The gradual increase of the gold content might indicate a higher degree of economic stability at the time of the last two kings, as compared to the preceding reign, marked by incessant wars.

1. B. B. Nath (*JNSI*, XIII, p. 201) reads *ta* and *mā* on the reverse of some Kalachuri coins from Sonpur and interprets them as the initials of the names of Tummaṇa and Malhar. But, this is doubtful.
2. The attribution of the *Padma-taṅkas* is a subject of keen controversy as their earliest specimens are uninscribed. Eliot (*CSI*, p. 56) was of opinion that the coins were issued by the Kadamba kings, he was supported by Rapson (*IC*, p. 32), who, however, had a different notion about the chronology of the Kadamba kings. S. R. Aiyangar (*JASB* (1925), *NS*, No. 250, p. 6) first advanced the theory that *Pādma-taṅkas* were issued by the Yādava kings of Devagiri in the thirteenth century. The occurrence of the names of four Yādava kings Siṅghaṇa II, Kṛishṇa, Mahādeva and Rāmachandra has practically set at rest the controversies. The *Padma-taṅkas* of Bhillama V have also been discovered from different places in Maharashtra, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Karnatak and Andhra Pradesh.
3. *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 147 ff.
4. *Ibid.* p. 151.

hegemony of the kings of Karnatak to Western Orissa and Chhattisgarh in Madhya Pradesh.¹ The statement of Hemadri that king Singhana had captured an elephant corpse of Jajalla is taken to corroborate Singhana II's authority over the area. A. S. Altekar identifies the defeated ruler with the Kalachuri king Jajalla III and suggests that his kingdom had passed into the hands of Singhana II. A. V. Narasimha Murthy,² however, suggests that king Jajalla, defeated by Singhana II, was the ruler of Srirangapatana and not his namesake in Chhattisgarh. In view of the geographical proximity of Srirangapatana to the Yādava dominions and the presence of one of his inscriptions at Yelawala in the vicinity of Srirangapatana, A. V. Narasimha Murthy's suggestion appears to be more convincing. A definite proof of Singhana II's association with Western Orissa and Chhattisgarh is yet to be found. The Yādava coins from Orissa; may possibly be explained in terms of trade and commerce or of migration of families from Karnatak.³

The coins, known as the *Gajapati Pagodas*⁴ bearing the figure of standing elephant and an arabesque or a floral scroll design respectively on their obverse and reverse have been attributed by R. D. Banerji⁵ and A. C. Banerji⁶ to the Sūryavaṃśī king Kapilendradeva (c AD 1435-67). C. J. Brown suggests that these coins were issued by the Gajapati kings who founded their kingdom in Orissa around the ninth century AD, after migrating from their homeland in Kōṅgudeśa located in Western Karnatak and Coimbatore and Salem districts of Tamil Nadu. There are difficulties in attributing the *Gajapati Pagodas* to an Orissan

1. B. B. Nath (*JNSI*, XV, p. 127) holds that the discovery of these coins proves the continuity of the Yādava rule in the Sonpur region from the time of Singhana II to the reign of Ramachandra.
2. *C K.*, p. 115.
3. A *mohar* of Nasir-ud-din Mahmuda I (AD 1246-66) has been found along with four *Padma-taṅkas* of Singhana II at Parasadih. This led A. S. Altekar (*JNSI*, VIII, p. 147) to assume that the Chhattisgarh area was conquered by the Sultan of Delhi around the middle of the thirteenth century AD. Since gold coins are migratory in nature, no positive conclusion can be deduced on the basis of a stray specimen of Nasir-ud-din.
4. The origin of the term *pagoda* is obscure. It was first applied by the Portuguese to Hindu temples, and subsequently to coins, bearing an idol.
5. *HO*, I, p. 304.
6. *JNSI*, VII, p. 113.

king or dynasty. The recorded find spots of these coins are not in Orissa. The name of Kpilendra or any of his predecessors or successors on the Orissan throne is not found on these coins. Moreover, no coin which can be definitely assigned to the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati kings, has as yet been unrecovered. The inscriptions of the Gajapati kings mention some gold coins, including the māḍhas, and the *Bhakti-Bhāgavata*¹ composed by Kaviḍiṇḍima Jivadevāchārya in AD 1510, refers to the circulation of the gold coins of Pratāparudradeva (c. AD 1497-1740) in different countries but no such coins have so far been noticed.

Reference may be made here to some other theories about the attribution of the *Gajapati Pagodas* :

1. D. C. Sircar² suggests that some of the *Gajapati Pagodas* were issued by the Western Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇī including Vikramāditya VI (c. AD 1076-1126). He argues that the *Gajapati Pagodas*, without any legend, were minted mostly by the temple authorities or the goldsmiths of Karnataka for centuries, with the permission of the royal authority.

2. H. Heras³ contends that the *Gajapati Pagodas* were issued by the Vijayanagar king Mallikarjuna who ruled during AD 1446-63.

3. B. D. Chattopadhyay⁴ maintains that coins, palaeographically assignable to the eleventh-twelfth centuries AD, were issued by the Western Gaṅga kings who alone had the 'crest of the lusty elephant'.

The first view appears to be in conformity with the testimony of Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* which represents king Harsha (AD 1089-1101) of Kashmir as having issued coins in imitation of those of Karṇāṭa in Dākṣhiṇātya.⁵ Since Harsha is known to have struck gold coins, having on their obverse an elephant and on the reverse a legend, mentioning his name, it is to be presumed that he copied the *Gajapati Pagodas* in circulation in Karṇāṭa at his time. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*⁶ describes Kalyanapura

1. *Nava Bhārata* (in Oriya), VI No. 6, p. 295, *Utkal University Souvenir* (1948), p. 113.

2. *SIC*, pp. 245-46.

3. *JASB* (1933), *NS*, No. XLIV. pp. 17-22.

4. *CCSSI*, p. 45.

5. VII, 926.

6. VII, 1123-24.

as the capital of Karnāṭa where Bilhana¹ enjoyed royal patronage. All this would suggest that Kalhana, while speaking of Karnāṭa, was probably referring to the Western Chālukya dominions with headquarters at Kalyāṇi. The Western Gaṅgas, on the otherhand, ruled farther in the south, and were constantly harrassed by the two neighbours, Chālukyas and Cholas, so that they could not possibly think of striking gold coins during the eleventh-twelfth centuries.

A special type of bronze *Rāmaṭaṅks* show on the obverse the standing figures of Jagannātha, Subhadrā and Balarāma and the Sanskrit legend in modern Nāgarī *śrī-śrī Jagannāthasva (s = tra) yī*, 'the Jagannātha triad'. The reverse depicts Rāma and Sītā, seated on a throne and accompanied by Lakshmaṇa, Bharata, Śatrughna and Hanumān. These coins were probably issued by the temple authorities of the Jagannātha temple at Puri.

These coins are undated but an approximate idea about their date may be formed with the help of the devices, occurring on them. The appearance of a group of devices on coins probably dates from the time of the Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇadevarāya when we find Śiva and Pārvatī or Nārāyaṇa and Lakshmī on the obverse of coins. The present coins depict Jagannātha Subhadrā and Balarāma on the obverse, while Rāma and Sītā are represented on the reverse along with a number of attendants. Possibly these coins were issued with the growing popularity of the Rāma cult at a date not earlier than the thirteenth century AD. The popularity of the images of Rāma and Sītā in Orissa during the thirteenth century is attested by the *Stotra-Mahodadhi* which refers to the Vaishṇava scholar Narahari-tīrtha as having secured the images of Rāma and Sītā from the Gaṅga king Narasimha II and presented them to his master Ānanda-tīrtha, the founder of the Dvaita or Mādhava school of philosophy (*HO*, I, pp. 270-71).

We may discuss here a few coins, issued in the names of some Muslim rulers, on account of their importance for the medieval Orissan history. There is a unique silver piece of Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Yūzabak who was placed in charge of Gauḍa by Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban of Delhi. This coin, struck at the mint of Lakhnauti in AH 653 (=AD

1. VII, 935-37.

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1255), contains on the margin of the reverse a legend¹ meaning, 'struck at Lakhanauti as tribute of Arzbadan and Nadiya in the month of Ramazan of the year six hundred and fifty-three'. Arzbadan was previously identified with Burdwan.² R. D. Banerji first proposed to locate the place at Garbardan or Bardhan Kot in North Bengal and subsequently, at Umardan or Armardan described in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri*³ as the capital of the Imperial Gaṅga monarch Narasimha I. If the identification of Arzbadan with Umardan or Armardan, is accepted the coins may provide us with confirmation of Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Yūzbak's expedition in Orissa during the reign of Narasimha I, as narrated in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri*. The account reveals that Yūzbak launched a series of military expeditions in Orissa at the time of Narasimha I in one of which the Gaṅga capital city of Umardan or Armardan was stormed and captured. If Arzbadan is Umardan or Armardan, the coin may be supposed to contain an allusion to a victorious campaign, of Yūzbak against the contemporary Orissan king Narasimha I around AD 1255. But a definite conclusion on the issue is difficult. The statement of *Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri* about the capital of Orissa in the thirteenth century AD is not compatible with the testimony of the contemporary inscriptions. What has been described as the capital of the Gaṅga kings might have been, an important fort under Narasimha I.

There is a unique coin of Sultan Ghiyasud-din Jabāl Shah of the Sur dynasty of Bencal dated in AD 1560, and issued from the mint of Jabalpore. The coin shows that Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din conquered North Orissa as far as Jajpur in Cuttack district from king Mukunda Harichandana and established a mint at the place.

Orissa was conquered by Akbar in AH 982 (AD 1574) and converted into a Mughal province shortly afterwards. It is doubtful whether Akbar issued any coin from a mint in Orissa, although it is sometime argued that some of his rudely executed *dams* were struck at Cuttack.⁴ Coins of the Cuttack mint, issued in the names of Jahangir (dated in AH 1036), Shahjahan (a coin of the Ilāhī type, issued in the third regnal year),

1. CCIM, II, part 2, p. 246.

2. JASB (1881), part I, p. 61.

3. *Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri*, Eng. trans., p. 765, note 4.

4. CCIM, III, LVIII.

Aurangzeb (four rupees between AH 1099 and 1102), Farukh-siyar, Muhammad and Ahmad Shah¹ (twenty-four silver pieces) have come to light.

It is evident from the foregoing discussions that the medieval coins from Orissa, cannot be dated earlier than the twelfth century AD. With the passing away of the Nala kings in the fifth century AD we enter into a period of numismatic inactivity which lasted for several centuries till the twelfth when the striking of coins in Orissa was revived by Jajalladeva I and Anantavarman Chodagaṅga. The paucity or total absence of the actual specimens of metallic coins in Orissa and other parts of India and the supposed derth of reference to them in contemporary inscriptions and literature have been interpreted as a symptom of the decline of trade and commerce, both internal and foreign between the period from AD 600 to AD 1000 while the abundance of coins in the eleventh-twelfth centuries, suggested on the basis of the actual findings and references to coined money in contemporary records is explained in terms of an expansion of commercial activities.² This hypothesis, which has found favour with many Indian Marxist historians, may be examined in the context of Orissan history.

Orissa has not yielded any coin of the period from AD 600 to AD 1000, but the use of metallic coins during this period is proved by the contemporary and earlier inscriptions. The Ningondi plates³ of the Māṭhara king Prabhañjanavarman state hundred *paṇas* (*sāṁvatsarika-kara-paṇāgu śate dave*) which were probably copper coins, each equivalent to eighty cowries. The Bobbili plates⁴ of Achaṇḍavarman refer to a village

1. *Ibid.*

2. *IF*, p. 248. B. P. Majumdar (*SEHN*, p. 219) also speaks of a severe paucity of coined money in Orissa. In his formulations about the paucity of coins in early medieval India, R. S. Sharma does not follow a uniform line of reasoning. In the first edition of his book *Indian Feudalism* he speaks of the derth of references to, and discovery of, the coined money. About a decade later he talks of the 'practical absence of gold coins' in the country and is silent over the bearing of the epigraphic and literary documents over the subject. (See *IHR*, I, No. I, p. 5 and No. II, p. 328). He surmises, on the basis of a chart of the pure gold content of the coins of the successive Gupta kings, prepared by S. K. Maity, that the shortage of gold started right in the fourth century, and yet strangely enough, he places the beginning of the shrinkage of trade in AD 600.

3. *IO*, I, II, p. 45.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

which was subject to the payment of an annual rent of an identical amount (*pradeyaṁ sām̐vatsarikāṁ paṇāguṁ śata-dvayaṁ*). The Chicacole plates¹ of Ananta-varman I of about the beginning of the eighth century AD speak of a Brahmin donee who was enjoined to pay ten *māshakas* (*sam = uchito-pratyāyo daśa-māshakā*), which were small coins of silver, every years as rent for a piece of land, granted in his favour. The Chipurupalli plates² of Vajrahasta *alias* Anantavarman IV, assignable to the last quarter of the ninth century AD refer to a Brahmin named Nārāyaṇa who used to pay the king an annual rent of five silver coins (*karah phālguna-prati pañcha-rūpāṇ = cha deyaḥ*), called *rūpas*.³ The Angul plates of the Bhauma Kara queen Dharmamahādevī of about the first quarter of the eleventh century AD speak of a Brahmin who had to pay the rent of three silver *palas* annually for the enjoyment of a plot of land at a village, called Deśāla. The circulation of silver *māshakas* of five or eight *rattis* in Orissa in the tenth century AD is attested by the Madras Museum plates⁴ of king Narendradhavalā. In the inscription⁵ of the Śulki and Tuṅga kings of about the eleventh century AD mention is made frequently of silver *palas* (*rūpya-pala*) in circulation in those days. The Kambakya plates⁶ of Udayāditya of about the same period refer to *māḍas* which were gold coins, weighing forty *rattis*. The use of silver *palas* is further disclosed by the Gangam plates⁷ of king Prithivivarman which speak of Bhattaputra Śubhaṅkara as paying annually four such coins to the State (*prati-varsham rūpya-palāni chatvārideyaṁ*) as well as by the Jurada grant⁸ of Neṭṭabhaṅja, quoting royal dues for a village as four *rūpya-palas*, and two records⁹ of the Somavaṁśī king Māhabhavagupta I Janamejaya, referring to the

1. IO, II, p. 146.

2. EI, XXXI, pp. 312-14.

3. Although the word *rūpa* is usually used in the sense of a mark or figure, the term is employed in *Arthaśāstra* in the sense of a coin (cf. *rūpya-rūpa* and *tāmra-rūpa*). While commenting on *Amarakoṣa* Kshīrasvāmin applies the term *rūpaka* to silver coins which are also so-named in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (81, 12, 13) and the Baigram plate.

4. JAS, Letters, XVIII (1952), No. I, p. 49.

5. EI, XXVII, p. 47.

6. Ibid, XXX, part III, p. 94.

7. Ibid, IV, pp. 198-201.

8. Ibid, XXIV, pp. 15-20.

9. EI, III, pp. 340-44; JPASB (1918), pp. 12-13.

fixation of annual rent respectively at five and eight *rūpya-palas*. The term *pala* in the expressions *rūpya-palāni chatvāri*, *pañcha-rūpya-palāni*, *rūpyak = āshṭa-pala*, etc. in these records, has often been interpreted in the sense of a unit of measure, implying the actual quantity of silver to be paid by the donee as annual rent. But this interpretation is opposed by the following passage of the *Arthaśāstra*¹: *Suvarṇān = māshakam = apaharato dvi-śato daṇḍaḥ*; *rūpya-dharaṇān = māshakam apaharato dvādaśo paṇa*. The passage means that if a gold-smith steals, while making coins, one *māsha* from the gold coin called *suvarṇa*, he will be fined 200 *paṇas*, while his fine will be 12 *paṇas* if he takes away one *māsha* from a *rūpya-dharaṇa*. The compound word *rūpya-dharaṇa* is used in the specific sense of a silver coin, and accordingly, the expression *rūpya-pala*, in Orissan inscriptions, may reasonably be taken in the sense of a silver coin.

There are reasons to believe that during this period cowrie-shells constituted an important medium of exchange along with metallic coins. Prominence of the cowrie currency in Central Orissa during in the first half of the seventh century AD is brought out by the narrative of Hiuen Tsang.² A copper plate grant of the Bhauma Kara king Śubhākaradeva II speaks of the continuity of cowries as a medium of exchange in the tenth century AD. The use of cowries in the transaction of business is supported by the discovery of a about 25,000 cowries from Sonpur³ in Sambalpur district. Hence the non-discovery of coins in early medieval Orissa is hardly a positive proof of contraction in the circulation of money.

The theory of the decline in the volume of trade and commerce in India during the period from c. AD 600 to c. AD 1000 is not applicable to Orissa where we have definite evidences of the existence of ports, markets and trade-routes, the practice of several arts and crafts and of the movement of the people from place to place for the attainment of better prospects.

1. Chapter 78.

2. Fa-hien came across only cowries in the markets of Madhyadeśa at the time of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya.

3. *JNSI*, XIII, p. 92. Thomas Bowry, who visited Orissa in the latter half of the seventeenth century AD has noticed the cowries as the only money, known to the rural folk (*JNSI*, XXVIII, p. 129). The use of cowries as maoney tokens continued in Orissa till AD 1803 when their circulation was officially suspended.

The existence of a thriving port on the Orissan coast in the first half of the seventh century AD is proved by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang¹ who speaks of the port of Che-li-ta-lo, i.e., Charitra; 'Here it is merchants depart for distant countries and strangers come and go and stood here on their way. The walls of the city are strong and lofty. Here are found all sorts of rare and precious articles'. Hiuen Tsang further suggests that Central Orissa, comprising the Kongoda kingdom, was studded with numerous 'strong and high' cities.² A copper-plate grant³ of the Bhañja king Nettabhañja, assignable to the last part of the eighth century AD, informs us that Aṅgulaka, identified with Angul of the present day, was made prosperous by the merchant community, who sold commodities of all descriptions on a large scale. References to harbours (*ghaṭṭa*) are quite frequent in Orissan inscriptions from about the ninth century AD. The construction of numerous temples, use of iron-beams in temples, making of superb images out of stone and discovery of a large number of copper plates point to the advancement in several crafts and industries. References to artisans and craftsmen like weavers (*tantuvāya*), milkmen (*gokūṭa*) and brewers (*śaundika*) are to be met with in the Bhauma Kara inscriptions. That some articles were exported from Orissa to other kingdoms during this period is indicated by *Manasollāsa* which includes the Kalinga fabric and rice in the list of varieties for royal use.

Maritime activity is further indicated by a Chinese text, recording the gift of an autographed manuscript of the Buddhist work *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* by an Orissan king to the Chinese Emperor Te-tsung through his envoy Prajñā in AD 795, and by the discovery of a Chinese copper coin, attributable to the eighth century AD at Sirpur.⁴

The ports of Che-li-ta-lo, Tāmralipti and Masulipatam, on the Western coast of the Bay of Bengal facilitated a regular trade with the countries of South-east Asia and China. The active intercourse between this part of India and South-east Asia during the medieval period is indicated by the evidences detailed below.

1. *BRWW*, IV, p. 411.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 412.

3. *JBORS*, XVII, p. 114.

4. *OHRJ*, II, p. 104.

Kumāraghosha, an inhabitant of Bengal, was appointed the royal preceptor by Śailendra king in the latter half of the eighth century AD. The Nalanda copper-plate grant, assignable to the first half of the ninth century AD records the erection of a monastery at Nalanda by the Śailendra king Bālaputradeva. The statement of the Arab merchant Sūlayman (AD 815) that a king of Zābag was held in esteem by the contemporary kings of India is a pointer in the direction of a regular intercourse. The Burmese king Kyanzittha (eleventh century) repaired the temple of Bodh-Gaya which was in ruins. In the list of the foreign people, who used to come to Java, as found in the records of Airlangga (eleventh century) mention is made of Kling, Singhala, Draviḍa and Karnāṭaka which may easily be identified as Orissa, Sri Lanka, Tamil Nadu and Karnatak. *Nāgara Kṛitāgama*, composed in AD 1365, refers to the people of Jambudvīpa, Karnāṭaka and Gauḍa as flocking to to Javanese capital Majapahit in ships with merchandise.

R. S. Sharma¹ asserts that India's commercial intercourse with China and South-east Asia in the pre-Muslim period was mainly in the hands of the Arabs, who according to him, founded 'colonies' in all parts of India with the exception of Kashmir. The role of the Arab merchants in the export trade of pre-Muslim India has been, we are afraid, unduly magnified.

Likewise, R. S. Sharma's formulation about the cessation of foreign trade on the Western front of India does not square up with the available materials noticed by Maqbal Ahmed.²

We learn that the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf littorals supplied gold to India during the early medieval period, among other articles.

In Orissa in this period different parts of the region were linked together by a net-work of roads, both inland and riverine. The santabommali plates³ of c. AD 585 refer to a public road (*rāja-mārga*) while

1. *IHR*, I, No. 1, p. 9.

2. *Indo-Arab Relations*, pp. 86-7. The citation occurs in *IHR*, I, No. II, p. 442.

3. *IO*, II, p. 30.

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another highway of Kalinga (*Kalinga-mārga*) finds mention in the Kama Nalinakshapur plates¹ of c. AD 671. Mention of a water-way (*Jala-mārga*) is made in the Andhavaram plates² of c. AD 714. Frequent mention of ferry (*nadi-tara-sthāna*) in the Bhauma Kara inscriptions show that the ninth or tenth century Orissan villages were closely knit together through the rivers like the Baitarani, Mahanadi, Brahmani, Vansadhara, Languli, Rishikulya and Prachi and their tributaries. Al Bīrūnī, who visited India about AD 1038 speaks of an inland route from Kanauj to Orissa via Allahabad, and thence to Kanchipuram and other distant places in South India. The existence of trade routes, connecting Orissa with other parts of India is indicated by epigraphic references to the migration of people from Uttar Pradesh, North and West Bengal, Central India and Bihar to Orissa.

Thus even if the theory of the paucity of coins in the early medieval period be conceded, we have no reason to believe that there was a corresponding decline in the volume of trade and commerce. Nonavailability of coins of a particular king, dynasty or period need not be taken as a symptom of economic collapse as the rulers were not zealous minters and were not averse to the continuation of the earlier and foreign coinage in their kingdoms.

There seems to be little *rationale* behind R. S. Sharma's formulation, overemphasising the correlation between gold coins and trade. Trade and commerce were in a flourishing state in the middle Gangetic basin in the sixth-fifth centuries BC but no gold coin of the period has as yet come to light. Gold coins have also not been reported from the Harappan sites which witnessed brisk commercial activity. Coins came to be invented at a comparatively late date. Are we then to suppose that there flourished no trade and commerce, inland as well as foreign, in the pre-currency pre-historic days? Coins thus can hardly be considered as an essential determinant or a necessary concomitant of trade. The usefulness of gold coins in foreign trade lies in their use as bullions, and gold-lumps could serve as an adequate substitute for them. The practice of barter in foreign trade, which in some form persists even now could well have been in vogue in early medieval India. This is supported by the fact that payment in kind was in vogue in the Indianised kingdoms of Southeast Asia with which India had regular trade intercourse.

1. *IO, II*, p. 321.2. *Ibid*, p. 330.

INDIAN DEITIES ON BACTRIAN AND INDO-GREEK COINS

PULAK KUNDU

The study of the Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins reveals that not only a large number Greek deities, but also a few Indian deities make their appearance on the coins of the Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings. It is interesting to note that some time these Indian deities appear in full figures and some time in their theriomorphic forms. An attempt has been made in the following pages to study different issues relating to the occurrence of Indian deities on the coins of the Greek kings of Bactria and N. W. India.

Lakshmi or Yakshini

On the reverse¹ of Pantaleon's copper issues is found "a female figure, with long pendants from her ears, clad in oriental drapery with trousers, holds in her right hand a flower". The same type also occurs on the reverse² of the bilingual silver coins of Agathocles.

The identity of this female figure is not free from dispute. J. N. Banerjea³ calls this female figure "Yakshinī Aśvamukhī", because of her long 'non-human head'. This suggestion has been opposed by B. Chattopadhyay,⁴ who is of opinion that the oriental dress and the flower in the right hand of the deity would indicate, with more justification, her identification with Śrī-Lakshmi.

Vasudeva

A few of Agathocle's bronze coins show on the obverse the figure of a deity, who is shown as standing and wearing on Indian *dhoti* and the *uttariya*. This deity is shown as holding a *chakra*

1. Chattopadhyay, B., *Coins and Icons—A study of Myths and symbols in Indian Numismatic Art* (Calcutta 1977) p. 201
2. *Ibid.*, p. 202
3. *Ibid.*, p. 202
4. *Ibid.*, p. 202
5. Narain, A. K. *The Two-Hindu Divinities on the coins of Agathocles from Ai-Khanum, JNSI, XXXV (Varanasi, 1972) p. 76*

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and a spear-shaped vase. The figure has a sword, hanging from a cross-belt.

The identity of this deity is a subject of keen controversy among scholars. As regards the identity of this figure, P. Bernard proposes two alternatives; either that, it constitutes an image of a Greek king represented as a *chakravartin* of the Indian conception, or that, it is a figure of a deity. He rejects the first alternative in favour of the second. P. Bernard¹ identifies this deity, holding a *chakra* and *maṇḍala*, with Vishṇu. But this suggestion has been opposed by A. K. Narain.² He has pointed out that if we accept this theory, we would thus favour the view that this is the earliest anthropomorphic representation of Vishṇu. Surely this figure on the coins of Agathocles is among the earliest experiments, in the historical period, in the iconography of Indian divinities and, perhaps, the first example of syncretism in art and religion arising out of the encounter of India with the Yavanas. A. K. Narain, is of opinion that for this reason we are unable to accept this suggestion, and he has suggested that the figure with the *Chakra* and a *maṇḍala* would well represent Vāsudeva. Another alternative suggestion has been propounded by A. K. Narain³ that this figure could be the earliest experiment in depicting the Buddha, inspite of the fact that the wheel as an exclusive symbol of Buddhism has been challenged.

It is difficult to say which of the views is more convincing. But it is interesting to note that the earliest definite evidence of the identity of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu is supplied by the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription of Heliodorous, assignable to almost the same time.

Balarama

The standing figure of a deity appears on the reverse of a few bronze coins of Agathocles.⁴ This deity is shown as wearing an Indian *dhotī* and the *uttariya*. The figure is shown as carrying a *gadā* and a strange "instrument" in the form of a "manche" which ends with a double 'crochet', making a "Z" shape, which is some what between an *aṅkuśa* and a *hala*. The figure has a sword, hanging from a cross-belt.

1. JNSI, XXXV, p. 76

2. *Ibid.*, p. 77

3. *Ibid.*, p. 77

4. *Ibid.* p. 76.

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Hiuen Tsang informs us that there was a mountain called Pi-lo-so-lo to the south—west of the capital city of the country of Kapisa, whose presiding deity had the form of an elephant, the mount being named after him. Now Indra has an elephant for his mount which is tantamount to saying that when represented theriomorphically he bears the form of an elephant.

Siva

The figure of a bull adorns some of the copper coins of Heliocles.¹ The humped bull is shown as standing. J. N. Banerjea² has pointed out that this figure stands for the Indian god Śiva in his theriomorphic form. It is worth noticing in this connection that according to the testimony of Hesychius³ the presiding deity of the Gandhāra region was the bull.

It is interesting to note that the figure of a humped bull appears on a few coin-types of Apollodotus, Menander and Artemidorus.

Yaksha

On the obverse⁴ of a few types of Telephus' drachms appears the figure of a snake—legged *Yaksha*. He is shown standing and holding in each hand lotus stalk, which develops from his own serpent like legs.

Gardner¹ is of opinion that this figure represents the giant Skythes, because he is shown as holding the hammers in both the hands. But in the present case, as pointed out by Marshall,⁶ the giant holds a lotus stalk in each hand, while the legs terminate in lotus flowers and tenderils, he is in fact a lotus *Yaksha*. It is interesting to note that *Yakshas* are commonly represented in early Indian art with the lotus plant of life and fortune issuing from their mouths, naval etc. John Marshall has shown that *Yakshas* are commonly portrayed in sculptures of the early school,

1. Lahiri, A. N. *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins* (Calcutta, 1965) p. 138.

2. Sastri, K. A. N. *op. cit.* Vol. II. (Calcutta. 1957 p. 167-168.

3. *Ibid*, p. 168.

4. Lahiri, A. N. *op. cit.*, p. 184

5. *Ibid*, p. 185.

6. *Ibid*, p. 185.

though the growth from the legs instead of from the mouth or naval is a Hellenistic idea.

The study of the Indian deities, appearing on the coins of the Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings, reflects the religious attitudes of these alien rulers. While a large number of Greek deities appear on the coins of these foreign kings, Indian gods and goddesses, occurring on their coins are astonishingly few in number and occur, though rarely, on the coins of Pantaleon, Agathocles, Eukratides I and Telephus, and probably on some of the issues of Heliocles, Apollodotus, Menander and Artemidorus. Vāsudeva and Balarāma adorn the coins of Agathocles.

The Hindu goddess Lakshmī or Yakshiṇī also make her appearance on their coins. Apart from this, Eucratides I adopted Indra as a divinity of the city of Kapiśā, while Heliocles probably introduced coins with Śiva as the presiding deity of the Gandhāra region. Yaksha likewise makes his appearance on the coins of Telephus. Moreover, on the part of the Indo-Greek kings a sincere attempt to adopt Indian devices like stūpa, Tree in railing and wheel is to be found on the coinage of Agathocles, Menander and other rulers. Indian gods and goddesses occur on these coins not because of the Greek kings professed Indian religious systems. In fact, with the exception of Menander no other Indo-Greek or Bactrian ruler is known to have adopted Indian religion. The logic behind the occurrence of the Indian deities on their coins lay in the interest of the Greek kings to pay respect to the religious beliefs of the indigenous population inhabiting in their kingdoms.

But, it is interesting to note that Greek gods and goddesses appearing on their coins far out number Indian deities. This may show that these Greek rulers of Bactria and parts of India were generally speaking orthodox in their religious attitude and were loath to accept foreign gods and goddesses. In this way, they stand in sad contrast with the Kushāṇa kings, who betrayed a remarkable spirit of religious eclecticism by professing Indian religion and adopting Indian names. But Pantaleon, Agathocles, Eucratides I and Telephus and probably Heliocles, Apollodotus, Menander and Artemidorus stand as exceptions to the rule and showed their interest in the local gods and goddesses, although the majority of the deities appearing on their coins were Greek.

One question may naturally arise that why were these foreign rulers interested in the local Indian gods and goddesses. The answer lies in the fact that the cults of those Indian gods and goddesses were prevalent in those regions, where the so-called Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings established their suzerainty.

Although the sources are scanty, there are some indications to show that certain gods and goddesses were specially connected with some places in North West India. Mention, in this connection, may be made of Indra who was the presiding deity of the Kapiśā region. Similarly, the presiding deity of the Gandhāra region was the bull, representing the god Śiva. This may partly explain the presence of the figures of the elephant and bull on some of the Indo-Greek coins.

UNIQUE GOLD COINS OF VASUDEVA

O. P. SINGH

A. S. Altekar published two gold coins of Vāsudeva, the Kushāna ruler in *JNSI*, XIII, pt. II, pp. 126-27. The description of them are as follows :

First coin is in the State Museum, Lucknow. Its size is .8" and weight 120.6 grains.

"Obverse : King nimbate standing to left, wearing trousers, overcoat and peaked cap, offering oblations at altar in his front and holding sceptre in l. hand, circular legend in corrupt Greek, blurred *Shao Nano Shao (Ba) zode*....Reverse : Śiva nimbate, wearing *dhoti*, right hand on the head of the elephant, left hand holding a trident. Three prongs over the head of Śiva. Four pronged symbol above the back of the elephant. Legend *Oesho* on the l., to be read from inside. The head of the god intervenes after the second letter and itself looks like a letter."¹

Second coin is in Hindu University cabinet. Its size is also .8" and the weight is 120.1 grains. Obverse : Same as above. Greek legend is clearer on the left.

"Reverse : Same as above; symol is clearer."²

The depiction of an elephant with god Śiva in the reverse is decidedly interesting and unusual so far as the Kushāna coins are concerned. Altekar has remarked that, "We, however, are unaware of his association with Elephant as his mount. Mythology no doubt tells us that he had killed *Gajāsura* and used to wear his hide. But neither sculptures nor literature tells us of his selection of Elephant as a mount on any particular occasion or for any particular purpose."³ According to N. P. Joshi, Śiva would have been related with elephant in the traditions of Gandhāra.⁴

1. *JNSI*, XIII, pt. II, p. 127. However, N. P. Joshi has also referred three gold coins in Sate Muslum Lucknow. Acc. Nos. 810436, 10638, 11699. *Prāchine Bhārtiya Mūrti Vijñāna*, p. 64, fn. 55.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
4. N. P. Joshi, *op. cit.* p. 30.

However, the *Vāmana Purāṇa* gives us a description that once Liṅga was dropped down by Śiva in Dāruvana. And there was darkness and chaos in the world. Later on, the gods and the Rishis made an effort to take the Liṅga from Dāruvana. But they were not able to move it at all.¹ They exhausted their energy and found themselves in a trouble. Then they resorted to Brahmā. Brahmā spoke to them "Of what use is hard labour? You are not fit to carry the Liṅga dropped down by the great got Śaṅkara at his sweet will. We shall therefore take refuge with Him, along with the gods. Being propitiated Mahādeva himself will carry it."²

Rishis and gods together with Brahmā reached the Kailāśa mountain with a desire to have the sight of Rudra. But they could not see the god there then "where is the God Maheśvara?"³

Brahmā meditated for a long time and came to know that Māheśvara was staying in the form of an elephant and was being mentally propitiated by the sages.

ततो ब्रह्माचिरं ध्यात्वा ज्ञात्वा देवं महेश्वरम् ।
हस्तिरूपेण तिष्ठन्तं मुनिर्भिमानसैः स्तुतम् ॥⁴

The Rishis and gods together with Brahmā went to the holy great lake where the god was present.⁵ These people were very much pleased to see Him. They prayed "O ! Mahādeva you have forsaken the Liṅga which is worshipped by the three worlds. O ! Māheśvara, none else is capable of carrying it".⁶ The God became pleased and He together with the Rishis and Brahmā went to the hermitage at Devadāruvana.⁷

"Going there the Great God, Hara in the form of an elephant held it easily with his trunk."

तत्र गत्वा महादेवो हस्ति रूप धरो हरः ।
करेण जग्राह ततो लीलया परमेश्वरः ॥⁸

1. V. S. Gupta, *Vāmana Purāṇa*, (Varanasi 1968), XXIII, 18.

2. *Ibid*, XXIII, 19-20.

3. न च पश्यन्ति तं देवं ततश्चिन्ता समन्विताः ।
ब्रह्माण मू चुर्मनयः क्व स देवो महेश्वरः ॥ *Ibid.*, XXIII, 22.

4. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 23,

5. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 24.

6. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 30-31.

7. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 32.

8. *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 33.

The above description, shows that once God Śiva adopted the form of an elephant. This iconographic novelty was adopted by the mint-master of the reign of Vāsudeva, the Kushāṇa king. One may argue that the text belongs to the fifth century AD and Vāsudeva reigned in the third century AD. However, it is worthy of notice that the figure of Hari-Hara appears on the gold coin of Huvishka. This icon found favour in the sculptures of succeeding ages.¹ Further, the icons of Ardhanārīśvara is also seen on the coins of later Kushāṇas.² Thus it is quite clear that the mint-masters of the Kushāṇa age were well versed with the iconographic traits which became popular in the succeeding ages. However, in the light of the description of the *Vāmana Purāṇa* it may be suggested that the reverse of the present gold coins of Vāsudeva shows the god in the form of elephant along with his anthropomorphic form. Decidedly it is an iconographic novelty of Vāsudeva coins.

1. For details see, Singh, O. P., *Religion and Iconography in Early Indian Coins*, p. 51; Cf. Banerjee, DHI, pp. 123-124.
2. Singh, O. P., *Op. cit.*, pp. 48-51.

WILSON'S ARIANA ANTIQUA : THE DISCOVERY OF ANCIENT AFGHANISTAN

K. WALTON DOBBINS

Horace Hayman Wilson, professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford, was the first Western scholar to attempt a comprehensive study of ancient Afghanistan. In *Ariana Antiqua, Descriptive Account of the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan : with a memoir on the buildings called topes*, by C. Masson, esq., published in 1841, he gives an account of the progress of discoveries, and discusses the views and conclusions of other scholars. The initial impetus behind this undertaking was the desire to give an account of the coins and antiquities collected by Charles Masson. During four years (1833-37) Masson, according to Wilson, had collected more than 30,000 coins at Begram (Beghram). But in this *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab* (III, 148-9), Masson says that he obtained 60,000 copper coins at Begram in 1837 alone, after having already collected some 19,700 in previous years. Masson found this ancient city while searching for possible sites of Alexandria ad Caucasum, but despite the vast number of coins collected there, by whichever count, the greatest interest was aroused by the topes of Jelalabad.

Wilson related the topes to stupas known at Sarnath and at Anuradhpura in Ceylon. These stupas were known to be Buddhist monuments and to have contained fragments of bone and jewellery as did many topes. He and most scholars of the day believed they were Buddhist 'dahgopas' on a large scale enshrining holy relics. In support of his view Wilson cited Clemens of Alexandria and Fa-hsian for their testimony regarding the Bactrian and Indus regions.

Burnes, Masson and Court adopted the idea of local people that the topes were royal tombs. Masson theorized that the number of coins found in topes signified the number of years a king ruled before his ashes were concealed in the monument. He admitted that topes may be essentially Buddhist structures, but the cenotaphs of kings preserved kings' relics in the Buddhist mode of preserving relics of saints. Menander, be noted,

had been honoured in this way. He concluded that topes in which coins were found were tombs of kings, and those without coins were constructed for saints. In his *Narrative of Various Journeys* (III, 278) Masson tells the story of how he would have liked to open the tope at Khonah Deh, but the local malek said he would not be allowed to keep what was found in it. Masson then gives his judgement on it : "My experience with topes induced me to conjecture that this one of Khonah Deh had been erected over a relic of some saint, and that we should not have found any coins in it." To maintain his view Masson found it necessary to suggest that the coins of the Herakles type found in different topes were merely copies of earlier coins, and that specimens found in different topes belonged to different kings of the same dynasty.

These views of the nature and purpose of the topes are of interest to us today because we see the evolution of conjectures and theories into full understanding. Wilson gives an account of how Prinsep began deciphering the Kharoshthi legends on coins, but at the time of his writing the decipherment was not nearly completed. Even the Greek script on Kushana coins was not fully understood as can be seen in the spelling 'Kanerki' for the name of Kanishka. Also, in those days it was widely believed that Manikyala was the site of ancient Taxila.

Wilson's conclusion did not fall short of the facts, as we see them today, from a lack of industry. Chapter III is a lengthy discussion of the geography of Ariana and Bactria and the etymology of names of regions, places and tribes. He makes extensive and knowledgeable use of Classical, Persian, Medieval and Chinese sources, and of legends and myths. In Chapter IV he discusses each king known from literature and coins, and describes the coins, their sources and disposition. On page 278 he notices counterfeits, particularly silver casts of bronze coins, being made by dealers. He attempts to draw conclusion from the coins, such as whether a king ruled in Kabul or in the Indus region, based on the number of coins found.

The factual data of antiquities in Wilson's book is a valuable source of information for students today, and some of this data poses questions. One of these centers on the finds from three stupas in Bimaran and Hadda. Masson had heard that Honigberger found 30 or 31 coins in one of the

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three compartments he opened in Bimaran Stupa 5 (Jani Tope). On making his own investigations Masson learned that local residents had found another three compartments, each containing 30 or 31 coins. One of these deposits was recovered in its entirety by Masson and contained 26 coins of Kujula-Hermaios (Herakles type), four of Azes II Dhramika, and one of Gondophares Sotar (Nike type), the same types and proportions as in Honigberger's sample. Of the other two deposits Masson retrieved six coins from one and fifteen from the other, all of the Kujula-Hermaios type. In his own dig into the top of the stupa Masson found a chamber with sixteen Kujula-Hermaios coins and other relics. Of seven chambers five contained coins, totaling 140 specimens. Of these Honigberger and Masson report the types of 98 or 99. Two deposits were composed of three types in the same number and proportions. Coins of the most numerous type are reported from two partially retrieved deposits. The four deposits of 30 or 31 coins each from near the base of the structure may all have had identical proportions of coin types. The sixteen coins deposited higher in the monument are apparently an odd group in the five lots reported.

A smaller stupa, Hadda Stupa 3, was so similar to the Jani Tope that Masson's workmen named it Bacha Jani Tope. A deposit of sixteen coins was found in this monument : 1 square bronze of Hermaios (Bust : Horse), 12 Kujula-Hermaios (Herakles), 2 Azes II Dhramika, and 1 Gondophares Soter. When the Hermaios bronze is grouped with the Kujula-Hermaios type the ratios of the finds are the same as those at Jani Tope, with Gondophares having the minimum of one specimen in each apportionated deposit. The total of sixteen coins in this find matches the number of single-type specimens, all Kujula-Hermaios type, found in the odd group at Jani Tope.

The Azes II coins are imitations, and the trefoil symbol on them is seen on Kujula's issue with a copy of the bust of Augustus. So in the apportionated deposits all of the coins belong to Kujula except for the single of Gondophares in each. Yet there is still the phenomenon of two types of Kujula's issues being kept in constant ratio. It can be noted here that Bimaran Stupa 2, in which was found the Gold Reliquary and inscription of Sivarakshita, also contained four mint condition Azes II Dhramika coins just as did the deposits at Jani Tope. Masson classified

the topes of the Jelalabad area into three types according to size and architecture. These three stupas have one in each of his classifications and the relative number of the Azes II coins in them conforms to his ordering: Jani Tope, with the largest number of Azes coins, is a class I structure; Bimaran 2, with four coins of the type, is in his second class; and Bacha Jani Tope, with only two of the Azes coins, he placed in his third or most inferior class. These three stupas are the only ones ever found to contain deposits of Azes Dharmika coins, and no other two religious deposits have been found to contain coins of two or more types with the same ratio of specimens.

Kujula copied Azes II and other types, and struck variations of earlier coins. But his most numerous issue was that of the Bust: Herakles type, some with the name of Hermaios on the obverse, but all with his own name on the reverse. Other examples of his Hermaios imitations are the silver and billon issues with the name of Hermaios corrupted into Heraios or Miaos. These issues of Kujula were the latest in a long series of imitation Hermaios coinages. The Azes Dharmika and Hermaios imitations are the only coins on which Kujula is known to have used the name of a king other than his own. (There are other types on which the Greek legend cannot be read.) Imitations of Hermaios and Azes II coins were in circulation in vast numbers before Kujula struck his own varieties, and this common usage of coinage may be sufficient to explain Kujula's imitations. But this raises the question of why coins in the name of Hermaios and Azes were so popular, and here the deposits reported by Masson and Wilson may give some help.

The names of both Azes and Gondophares are associated with systems of dating during the time of Kujula. The Takht-i-Bahi inscription is double dated to the year 26 of Gondophares and year 103 of another reckoning, and other inscriptions name the latter as belonging to Azes. This era is identified with the Vikrama Era of 58/7 BC. The double dated inscription also mentions erjhuna or prince Kapa, who is usually understood to be Kujula Kadphes. Another, older era in use at this time was the so-called Old Śaka Era of 170 BC. The Silver Vase of Jihonika is dated in the year 191 of this era and dates from AD 21/22, or the second regnal year of Gondophares and the seventy-ninth year of the Azes Era. In the Bimaran and Hadda deposits the name of

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Hermaios is the oldest name and is associated with the most numerous type of coins. Azes is next in age and number of coins, leaving Gondophares as the youngest and fewest. It may well be that the name of Hermaios was popularly linked with the old era. However, the ratios of types in the deposits do not correspond to ratios between the ages or differences in ages of the three eras. The proportions and totals of the coin types may reflect the endowments made by the donors of the stupas to the monasteries where they were built.

Whatever the significance of these deposits it is likely that they were concealed at about the same time. In fact, it is not too fetched to consider the possibility that all three stupas containing Azes Dhramika coins were the donation of Sivarakshita, the donor of the Gold Reliquary at Bimaran Stupa 2. An inscription found at Shahdaur, a translated by Konow, mentions the rich and wealthy Sivarakshita and ten thousand *kārshāpaṇas*. Some of his *kārshāpaṇas* may be the coins found in Masson's topes in Afghanistan.

EARLIEST GOLD COIN IN THE GANGETIC DELTA

BHASKAR CHATTERJEE

The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (see 63) refers to the port Gange on the bank of the river Ganges. Through this port were exported spikenard, pearls and finest muslins, which were called Gangetic. "It is said", according to the *Periplus*, "that there are gold-mines near these places, and there is a gold coin which is called Caltis".¹ It appears that Gange was one of the centres of trade on the eastern coast of India to carry on business with the Tamils and with Suvarnabhumi, and that to pay off the balance of trade, especially in case of transactions with foreigners like the Romans, use was made of coins of gold; minting of gold coins being not at all difficult due to availability of the precious metal in the neighbouring places.

On the identification of Gange suggestions put forward by scholars seem to be relevant. H. C. Roychoudhuri² has taken it to be the chief city of the Gangetic delta and a great market-town on the Ganges. B. C. Sen³ has placed it on the river Hughly and D. C. Sircar⁴ has preferred to locate it at the junction of the Gangā and the Sāgara. While Schoff is in favour of identifying Gange with Tāmralipti, "the sea-port of Bengal in the Post-Vedic and Buddhist periods, being frequently mentioned in the great epics."⁵ It is pointed out by H. C. Roychoudhuri that Gange is placed by Ptolemy considerably to the south-east of "Tamalites" or Tāmralipti, although it is admitted that Ptolemy's information about exact position of 'Tamalites' is not at all accurate. It is surprising to note that Tāmralipti is not mentioned in the *Periplus*. At Tāmralipti, the exploration carried out by the Ashutosh Museum of the University of Calcutta led to the discovery of a large number of terracotta plaques of the Maurya, Śunga

1. W. H. Schoff's English translation, Delhi, 1974, pp. 47-48.
2. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca, 1943, p. 44.
3. B. C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, Calcutta University, 1942, p. 28.
4. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient & Medieval India*, Delhi, 1960, p. 140.
5. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

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and Kushāṇa period and "a peculiar gold coin almost baffling identification."¹ It is not unlikely that the 'peculiar gold coin' discovered at Tāmralipti represents a type of Caltis found by the author of the *Periplus* in circulation at Gange.

The reference to gold mines in the *Periplus* is, no doubt, interesting. It has been suggested by Schoff that gold was supplied from the Chhotanagpur plateau where flowed the river Son, referred to by the Classical writers as 'Erannaboas', that is, Hiranyavāha, "carrying gold". It is further held on the authority of Tavernier's notes (III, vi) and Ball's '*Economic Geology in India*' that gold might have been brought in the Gangetic delta from Assam and northern Burma through Tipperah.² But we cannot fail to take notice, in this connection, of the 'Suvarṇa-vīthi' mentioned in the Faridpur Copper Plate grant³ and 'Suvarṇagrāma' (Dacca district) mentioned in Ānandabhaṭṭa's *Vallālacharitaṁ* (ch. I).⁴

As their names indicate, those places situated nearer to the port Gange seem to have been gold-producing. In view of the availability of gold, it would be unreasonable to assume that the gold coin was imported in Bengal from outside.

There is difference of opinion regarding the exact significance of the term Caltis used in the *Periplus* to denote a gold coin in circulation in the Gangetic delta. It has been thought to be the Sanskrit 'Kalita', "numbered" (Benfey), the South Indian coin denomination 'Kali' the 'Kallais' (Vincent) and the refined gold called 'Canden' (Willford).⁵ Recently, it has been suggested by D. C. Sircar that Caltis may possibly be the Greek modification of an East Indian corruption of some Scytho-Kushāṇa word meaning 'a coin' or 'a gold coin'.⁶ The explanation is obviously based upon an assumption that Caltis represented a type of

1. D. P. Ghosh, *Archaeological Discoveries in Lower Ganges Valley*, in Museum and Museology, Calcutta, 1967, p. 1 ff.
2. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 258-259.
3. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII.
4. N. L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, 1971, p. 199.
5. For the views Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 259.
6. D. C. Sircar, *Some Problems of Kushana and Rajput History*, Calcutta University, 1969, p. 64.

Kushāṇa gold coin put in circulation in the Gangetic delta during the reign of Kanishka I, whose single coin was unearthed at Mahāsthāngarh,¹ representing the standing bearded figure on the obverse and goddess Nanaia on the reverse.

It remains, however, uncertain whether the gold coin mentioned in the *Periplus* was issued by the imperial government of the Kushāṇas. The gold coin found at Mahāsthāngarh seems to have been an imitation of the issues of Kanishka which were in circulation in a later age in Eastern India. It is difficult to uphold that the Kushāṇa empire, during the reign of Kanishka I and his successors, extended beyond the limits of modern Uttar Pradesh. Most of the Kushāṇa coins discovered so far in West Bengal are copper-made and crude imitations of the original issues.

The 'peculiar gold coin' found at Tāmralipti may be considered to indicate the possibility of its prevalence in Bengal even before the Kushāṇa period, especially when India's trade transactions with the countries outside required it most. On the obverse of the said gold coin are represented a bull or a stag under a four-spoked wheel and several minor symbols mainly consisting of small dots and a hook. On the reverse have been traced two Greek letters in the middle and some Brāhmī letters on the margin of the flan, which are difficult to be deciphered satisfactorily. The gold coin is small in size and bears slight incuses on both sides. One of the Brāhmī letters occurring on the reverse is read as either 'pu' or 'bha' which, in any case, is assigned on palaeographic grounds to the first century AD.²

This unique gold coin, the type of which has not yet been discovered in any part of Bengal, seems to have been a specimen of the currency, the authorship of which may be attributed to a local corporate body or a guild of merchants. The symbols on the obverse speak of the numismatic tradition initiated by the issue of punch-marked coins, a large number of which have been discovered in different parts of the Lower Ganges Valley and preserved in the Ashutosh Museum of the University of Calcutta.³

1. *Arch. Surv. Annual Report*, 1930-34, Part II.
2. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1956, pp. 87-93.
3. *Indian Archaeology : A Review*, 1956-57, pp. 29-30; C. R. Roychoudhury, *A Catalogue of Early Indian Coins in the Ashutosh Museum*, Part I, Calcutta University, 1962, p. 45 ff.

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Some of those early Indian coins are now preserved in the Tamralipta Museum, Tamluk in Midnapore district, West Bengal. However, the significance of the occurrence of both Brāhmī and Greek letters on the said coin is not far to seek. The Brāhmī characters probably stand for initials of some Indian guild of merchants and Greek letters seem to have represented the corresponding initials, presumably to convince the merchants of the Graeco-Roman world about the genuineness of the metal and weight of the gold coin.

After noticing the discovery of the interesting specimen of gold coin at Tāmralipti, it is difficult to subscribe to the view that the gold coin, referred to in the *Periplus*, is to be attributed to Kanishka I. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that no coin of Wema Kaddhises, either of gold or of copper, has yet been discovered in West Bengal. Further the date¹ of the *Periplus* is fixed at about 60 AD., when the reign of Kadphises II was probably still continuing.

The term Caltis has remained an enigma to the scholars who have put forward various suggestions. If it is taken to be a Greek form of Sanskrit 'Kalita', an attempt may be made to give an explanation. 'Kalita' is formed from the root 'kal', meaning 'to count'.² In that sense, 'Kalita' might stand for the coin-denomination that was used as a standard by which the value of other denominations of coins was assessed. In other words, the gold coin in question was accepted as standard value to which the ratio of silver and copper coins was related.

1. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

2. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1960, p. 260.

GODDESS GAṄGĀ ON GUPTA COINS*

CHHANDA MUKHOPADHYAY

(Pl. VII. 2-6, VIII. 1-4)

The Gupta period, otherwise called the Golden Age of India, brought about the revival of Brāhmanical religion and culture in a grand scale. Beautiful sculptures of Brāhmanical divinities occur on various plastic materials. However, the coins in gold are no exception. Gupta gold coins bear on their reverse various deities, including the goddess Gaṅgā. As it appears, the Gupta monarchs were the first among Hindu princes to depict Gaṅgā in anthropomorphic form. In fact, two Gupta kings, Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I, issued some gold coin-types which bear on their reverse goddess who is definitely identifiable as Gaṅgā.

The goddess Gaṅgā first appears on the reverse of Samudragupta's Tiger-slayer type¹ of coins (Pl. VII. 2). Here she is seen as standing on *makara*, the Elephant-headed crocodile, and is dressed in a *sārī* and what appears to be a very thin close-fitting bodies. She wears ornaments like earrings, bangles, armlets and necklace. There is a full-blown flower in her left hand, while the right hand is outstretched and empty.

Besides this the reverse of two other types of coins of Kumāragupta I show the figure of Gaṅgā. On the tiger-slayer type, the Goddess Gaṅgā appears as standing to left on *makara*, holding a flower with long stalk in left hand and feeding a peacock by her right hand. This type may well be divided into two distinct varieties on the basis of the varied iconographic postures of the deity on coins of Var A² (Pl. VII. 3.) Gaṅgā's posture as 'standing on a prostrate *makara* and feeding the peacock' is somewhat unusual, though apparently she is feeding the bird with her right hand and placing her left hand on her hip. She unusually moves

* I am thankful to my Teacher-supervisor Dr. A. N. Lahiri for his guidance and necessary advice in preparing this paper.

1. BMC (G. D.), pl II 14: CGE, pl. III. 14.
2. CGE, Pl. XII. II.; Kalidas in his *Meghadūtam* (Pūrvaṃmegha, va. 44-45) has referred to the association of peacock with Pārvatī. But so far as our knowledge is concerned, we can not corroborate the association of peacock with the Goddess Gaṅgā as we see on the concerned type by any textual evidence.

forward to do so, and the resultant attitude is rather curious. On coins of *Var. B¹* (Pl. VII. 4) Gaṅgā appears to stand on the postrate *makara* in what may possibly be the *abhaṅga* pose, and she probably rests her left hand on the waist.

This type has certain interesting iconographic features. Gaṅgā standing on her sacred *vāhana makara* is as such, not an unusual device, but the goddess feeding the peacock, generally associated with the Kārttikeya cult, is curious.

Again, the Horse-rider-and-Rhinoceros-slayer type² (Pl. VII. 5.) of Kumāragupta I bears on the reverse the figure of goddess Gaṅgā as standing to left on a postrate *makara*; and behind her there is a dwarfish female attendant, who holds a *chhatra* over her head. The goddess on these coins appears to hold out a fillet (in place of the usual long-stalked lotus), which is not, of course, clear of all specimens, while her empty-looking left hand hangs downwards. Her hair in a knot is seen on the nape of her neck; and she appears to wear the usual jewellery. This type is rather unique, because Gaṅgā here is not *nimbate* as on the earlier type. This is possibly because of the fact that over the head of the goddess an umbrella is being held by a female attendant, which fact duly indicates her regal or divine status. We may note in this connection that not only on the coins of the Gupta monarchs but also on a few sculptures of the Gupta and later periods occur figures of Gaṅgā. Some of the well-known sculptures which depict Gaṅgā come from Besnagar,³ (Pl. VIII. 1.) Bhumāra,⁴ (Pl. VIII. 2.), Gurgi,⁵ (Pl. VIII. 3), Kauśāmbī⁶ (Pl. VIII. 6), and Khajurāho⁷ (Pl. VIII. 4.). But, interestingly enough, all of them occur on doorways as part of a sculptural decoration.⁸ Goddess Gaṅgā on these sculptures

1. CGE, Pl. XII, 12.

2. *Ibid*, Pl. XIII, 3.

3. Saraswati, S. K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, Pl. XXII. N. 97.

4. Chanda, P., *Stone Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum*, Pl. 123.

5. *Ibid*, Pl. 295.

6. *Ibid*, Pl. 413.

7. *Ibid*, Pl. 436.

8. As inscribed image of Ganga belonging to Gupta Vākātaka period is preserved in the Vinoba Ashram, Paunar, Wardha district, Maharashtra. The inscription gives the name Gaṅgā *bhagavatī*, as informed by Chandra Sekhar Gupta, Dept. of Hist., Univ. of Nagpur. *B.M.C.(G.D.)* p. xix and note 2. cf. Roychaudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th Edn, p. 531.

is always seen as standing in Indian fashion, as on coins, and generally holds out a lotus flower in the right hand, placing the left hand sidewise. On one occasion, i. e. on the Gurgi specimen that goddess holds in her right hand a *Ghata*-like object, instead of the lotus flower. She wears Indian ornaments, as on coins; but the items of ornament differ on different sculptural specimens. She is never known as feeding a peacock, as on some coins of Kumāragupta. So far as her attendant is concerned, all sculptural specimens, like coins of the Horse-rider-and-Rhinoceros-slayer types, always bear a female one holding over her head a parasol; but, unlike on coins, all sculptural pieces have, besides the female attendant, other persons, whose identities differ.

The following purāṇic passage defines the Gupta dominions which according to Allan refers to those of Chandragupta I :

Anu Gaṅgā Prayāgamcha Sāketam Magadhamstathā
Etān janapadān sarvān bhokshyante Gupta Vamsajāh.

From this we may infer that the Gupta empire before the extensive and widespread conquests of Samudragupta extended along the Ganges from Prayāga and Sāketa to Magadha beyond which region the authority of the Guptas did not penetrate. But as a result of Samudragupta's military expeditions the limits of the Gupta empire in the east and south-east were greatly extended, and that is indicated by Samudragupta's issue of the Tiger-slayer type of coins. The devices of the coin viz. the king slaying a tiger and the *Makaravāhanā* standing Gaṅgā evidently had, an allusion to his occupation of the south-western Bengal in the lower Gangetic valley, where royal Bengal tigers predominate, and the river Gaṅgā meets the Bay of Bengal.

The non-issue of the Tiger-slayer and standing Gaṅgā type by Chandragupta II may not indicate his loss of the lower Gangetic valley, for there is no evidence to prove such a hypothesis. In fact, he apparently retained that part of the Gupta dominion and duly bequeathed it to his son Kumāragupta I. Kumāragupta, a great admirer of his grandfather, Samudragupta, revived the Tiger-slayer : Gaṅgā type of gold coins adding certain personal features of his own. Then Kumāragupta's Horse-rider : Rhinoceros slayer type of coins are also very suggestive. The slaying of the Rhinoceros shown on the obverse of these coins may very well signify and commemorate his victory over Kāmarūpa, the traditional home of the Indian rhinoceros. The reverse device of these coins depicting the standing *makaravāhahā* Gaṅgā was retained because of its importance.

THE SEBAKAS

RAJENDRA KUMAR SETHI

There is a difference of opinion among scholars regarding the period of the first king who calls himself Sebaka. So also it has not been possible to define the territory in which he ruled.

Scholars have brought to light many coins and have voiced their views. V. V. Mirashi,¹ M. G. Dixit,² Dinkar Rao,³ A. H. Siddiqui⁴ and myself⁵ have done so. P. L. Gupta⁶ has written two editorial notes. It will be worth while to critically examine the views.

The first king Sebaka is known from his coins which can be classified into two types, one the "Bull" type and another the "Elephant" type. The legend as read by me and others is *Sebakasa* to which P. L. Gupta has added (*Rā*) *jño* meaning Rājan or king. There is no dispute in this reading on the basis of the coin published by him.

V. V. Mirashi has placed this king in c. 300 BC. I have placed in c. 200 BC. According to me on the basis of palaeography he could be placed even earlier. P. L. Gupta places him in the later half of the second century BC or circa 150 BC. Gupta's arguments can be summed up as follows :—

- (1) The title *Rājño* never came on the coins prior to Siri Satkarṇi and Siri Sātavāhana, basing his view on the finds in Newasa excavations.
- (2) The legend came on the coin in c. 200/100 BC. (3) The *ka* has a nail head. So he is of the view that king Sebaka should be placed in c. 150 BC or even later.

Keeping in view an uncertainty in ancient Indian chronology the difference between 150 BC and 200 BC is not too much and more accuracy

1. *JNSI*, VII, p. 94 and XXII, p. 160.
2. *JNSI*, XXX, p. 186.
3. *Num. Digest*, I, Pt. II, p. 17.
4. *JNSI*, XXXIX, p. 78 and XLII p. 118.
5. *Num. Digest*, I, Pt. II, p. 10.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 138 ff.

is not possible. The first two arguments of Gupta have negative arguments and as such logically weak. I would have brushed them aside but I have great respect for the scholarship of Gupta and hence I comment on them as under (1) True that *Rājño* is found on the coins of Sātkaṛṇi and Satāvāhana, but history and literature know of this title much prior to that. May be Sebaka might have used it prior to the above kings and this would place him before them. (2) Early Mauryan coins do not have legend, but this does not debar others from using it. Both these arguments of Gupta are untenable unless supported by further evidence. Moreover, legend on the coin of Indian king is known much earlier to this. Legend is found on the coin of Saubhuti or Sophytes,¹ who was the contemporary of Alexander. (3) I was not able to find the nail-head *ka* in any of the published coins. It is certainly not in coin no. 2 published by me.² Neither it is in the coin published by Gupta.³

I suggested that Sebaka may be a sub-king or Viceroy under the Mauryas. This argument is refuted by Gupta by a sweeping statement that "No sub-king is known in Mauryan polity", completely ignoring my reference to the inscription of Rudradaman at Girnar, published and edited by many authorities such as Prinsep⁴ Bhau Daji,⁵ Bhagwanlal Indraji, Buhler,⁶ Kielhorn⁷ and others. I refer to line 8 of the inscription which is मौर्यस्य राज्ञः चन्द्रगुप्तस्य राष्ट्रियेण वैश्येन पुष्यगुप्तेन कारितं अशोकस्य मौर्यस्य कृते यवनराजेन तुषास्फेनाधिष्ठाय। It is regarding Sudarśan lake. Let me quote from Rapson.⁸ "It was ordered to be made by Vaiśya Pusyagupta, the provincial governor of Mauryan king Chandragupta' and 'adorned by conduits by Aśoka, the Maurya, by *yavana* king Tushāspha while governing.' No further argument is needed to prove that the institution of the sub-kings existed under the Mauryas.

1. Smith, V. A., *MPC*, p. 7; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 3. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 83 agrees with Levi and places him as the king of Soubhiti mentioned in *Gaṇapātha*.
2. *Num. Digest.*, *vp. cit.* p. 10.
3. *Ibid.* p. 13.
4. *JASB*, VII, p. 338.
5. *JBBRAS*, VII, pp. 113, 118 & 125.
6. *IA*, VII, p. 257.
7. *EI*, VIII, p. 42.
8. *Catalogue of Coins, Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, Reprinted, 1967, p. ix.

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We know of a king of Magadh, Bahasatimita or Brihaspatimitra, known from various sources. He was subjugated by king Kharavela, king of Kaling, in the 12th year of his reign, according to the Hathigumpha inscription,¹ which will place this victory to about 173 BC. The inscribed coins of this king have been discovered at Kosam,² the site of Kausambi. G. R. Sharma³ recovered them in the Kausambi excavations and assigned them on stratigraphic grounds to c. 185-115 BC. Since he was subjugated in 173 BC, his coins should go prior to that date. Another fact may also be stated. This disintegration of the Mauryan empire took place after the death of the Aśoka (236 BC). About this time the kingdom of the Sātavāhanas and Chedis came into existence. By the death of Samprati (219 BC) the Mauryan empire disintegrated further, and we will have to agree with Gupta that after that date the question of the sub-king should not arise.

Since the Sebakas exhibit the known imperial symbol of the Mauryas, the three arched hill, it may be concluded that he owed allegiance of the house of the Mauryas and hence will have to be placed prior to the death of the Samprati (219 BC) and even the death of the Aśoka (326 BC). Palaeographically the coins go to the Aśokan period. The letter *ba* itself is sufficient proof. This king or his successors may have been subjugated by the Sātavāhanas, which according to Gupta is permissible. Though tree-in-railing is not conclusively proved to be a Sātavāhana symbol, but the indications are that it is.

From numismatic evidence one will have to agree that Sebaka was an important king. He has taken out coins of different types and in different dies. I beg to draw the attention to the coin published by me where the *swastika* is almost a square because of the wearing of the die due to much use. He uses *rājan* before his name. It is unfortunate that his kingdom has not yet been identified.

Gupta on the basis of two types of *sa* in these coins conjures that there may have been two kings who used the phrase '*Rājño Sebakasa*'. The second *sa* of course is later and this conjecture is definitely plausible.

1. Sircar, D. C., *SI*, p. 217.

2. *Comprehensive History of India*, VII. II, p. 107.

3. G. R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kausambi*, p.

Mirashi has brought out another king Prakash Śiva Sebaka and Rao, a Śiva Sebaka. Gupta thinks they are the same king. I would like to inspect the coin before agreeing with Gupta. These kings have been placed by Rao in the 'later part of the 2nd century AD' and 'c. 300 AD'. Gupta argued that these datings are almost the same. I agree with Gupta but they may be discendents of one another.

It may be noted that these kings knew the difference of *va* and *ba* as they used both these letters on the coins. The correct words should be Sevaka and not Sebaka. So it must be a dynastic name.

Now Siddiqui has brought out two more kings viz. Seva Yamaka Seva Sebakasa and Seva Yasamaka Seva. The photographs, unfortunately, are not clear so nothing can be judged from it. I asked Siddiqui when I met him at Pune at the time of NSI's Conference and he confirms the readings. When speciphically asked he said that in the later coins there is definitely *sa* between *ya* and *ma*. This makes them two different kings. Repetition of Seva, the similarity of the legend and similar horse motif indicates that they belong to the same dynasty. So they also belong to the Sebaka group of kings.

Now we have the following six kings of the dynasty :

1. *Rajño Sebakas.*
2. *Sebakas* (if Gupta's conjecture is accepted).
3. *Siva Sebaka.*
4. *Mahagranika Prakasa Siva Sebaka.*
5. *Seva Yamaka Seva Sebaka.*
6. *Seva Yasamnka Seva.*

I may again state that the repeton of the dynastic name Sebaka gives support to my argument that it was a family name because had it been not a dynastic name the correct word Sevaka should have been used. Here it should be reminded that the letter *va* and *ba* both have been used in the same coins thus proving that the Sebaka was the correct name of the dynasty. The period of their rule may usually be put between c. 200 BC to 300 AD. Thus the Sebaka dynasty ruled for about 500 years. Who were they and where they ruled from is not known. Further research is necessary.

THE GUPTA-TYPE COINS OF EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD

BELA LAHIRI

In his Monograph entitled "*Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India*" Lallanji Gopal has classified the extensive and heterogeneous series of early medieval coins of Northern India into four main categories. In doing so he has overlooked the large number of gold and silver coins of Eastern India and some copper issues of Central India, types of which were directly derived from the Gupta models. The Gupta gold coins were imitated by some princes in Bengal who ruled there after the Guptas. The silver coins of the Guptas were copied by the Hūṇas, the Pushyabhūtiś, the Maukharis, the Valabhis and some otherwise unknown princes who ruled as the successors of the Guptas in their respective regions. The rare copper issues of the Guptas also formed the prototype of the coins of some obscure rulers of Central India and the Malwa region.

The history of Bengal after Vainyagupta, the last Gupta king to rule in Bengal, is quite obscure. As far as we know, two prominent political divisions emerged in Bengal, viz. Gaṇḍa and Vaṅga, the former comprising the Northern and the whole part of West Bengal and the latter, Southern and Eastern Bengal.

The first independent kingdom that arose in Bengal was Vaṅga-Samatata, comprising originally Eastern and Southern Bengal and some southern part of West Bengal. Three independent rulers of this kingdom viz. Gopachandra, Dharmāditya and Samāchāradeva, are known from the five *Faridpur copper-plate inscriptions*, and their reigns may approximately be placed "between 525 and 575 AD with the margin of a few years both at the beginning and at the end".

The *Haraha inscription* of Īśānavarman shows that Gaṇḍa became prominent as a political unit by the middle of the 6th century AD. The first known independent king of Gaṇḍa was Śaśaṅka, who flourished early in the 7th century AD and began his career as a *mahāsāmanta* under the Later Gupta king Mahāsenagupta, as presumed by scholars. Sometime before 606 AD he became the king of Gaṇḍa with his capital at Karna-suvarṇa, the ruins of which has since been excavated at the village of

Chiruti in Murshidabad district. Śaśāṅka's dominions undoubtedly included Northern and Western Bengal, but it is not known for certain if they included also Southern and Eastern Bengal (i. e. Vaṅga-Samataṭa). Another ruler of Gauda, viz. Jayanāga, is known from his land grant from *Vappaghoshavāṭa* (in *Audambarika-vishaya* comprising parts of Birbhum and Murshidabad districts), which was issued from the victorious camp of Karnaśuvarṇa. This Jayanāga is also referred to in the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*. The date of Jayanāga is provisionally given as sometime between 550 and 650 AD by R.C. Majumdar, who thinks that he was a successor of Śaśāṅka, as stated in the *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*.

Three of the above mentioned rulers of Bengal, viz. Samāchāradeva, Śaśāṅka and Jayanāga are also known to have issued coins. Besides these three, coins have brought to light the name of one Vīrasena and those of some other obscure rulers, two of whose names are doubtfully read as Sudhanyāditya and Pṛithuvīra or Pṛithuvīrja. All these rulers struck gold coins modelled on the commonest type of Gupta gold issues, viz. 'Archer king' : 'Seated Goddess (Lakshmī)'. This type was initially copied by the Guptas from the well-known Kushāṇa originals bearing the devices of 'Standing king sacrificing at altar' on the obverse and 'Seated Goddess (Arodaxsho)' on the reverse. This Kushāṇa type was adopted for the standard coinage of Kashmir, which continued there for about 1200 years.

But the Gupta type, though apparently bearing the same devices of 'Standing king' : 'Seated Goddess' was clearly distinguishable from the Kushāṇa type. The Gupta devices very soon shook off all foreign features and became completely Indianized. Thus the king on the obverse of Gupta coins wears Indian dress and ornaments instead of the Kushāṇa-type long coat, trousers and boots, and holds bow and arrow instead of sprinkling incense at the altar in the Kushāṇa fashion. The reverse goddess *Ardoxsho*, who is seen on Kushāṇa coins as seated on a high-backed throne and as holding fillet and cornucopiae, is also, by and by transformed into the full-fledged Indian *Lakshmī*, seated on a lotus and holding a lotus and noose in her two hands.

Any way, coins of Samāchāradeva are of two types. The commonest type, derived from the Gupta model shows the king on the obverse 'standing to left, holding a bow in left hand and arrow in right hand before

a standard surmounted by a Bull; legend under left arm *Samā*, between feet *chā* and above the Bull *ra*. The reverse depicts the goddess *Lakshmī* seated on lotus, holding lotus and noose as on Gupta coins; legend on the right margin begins with *Śrī-Narendra*..., the last part of the name being indistinct and read differently by different scholars. But it is evident from a close examination of Allan's catalogue *BMC (Gupta)*, Pl. XXIV. 4 that there are clearly three letters after *Śrī-Narendra*, the full name thus (including *Śrī*) consisting of seven letters in all. Thus the reading *Śrī-Na-re-ndra-vi-na (nī)-ta* is more acceptable than *Śrī-Na-re-ndrā-di-tya* (which consists of only six letters).⁹

In the second type of *Samāchāradeva*, the king is seen 'seated on throne flanked by a female attendant on either side'; legend *Samā* above king's left arm, *chā* below throne, and *ra* beneath the female figure to the left. On the reverse is depicted the figure of a goddess standing to left between lotus-stalks growing beside her and holding a long-stalk of lotus in her right hand; a bird identified as *hansa* is seen on the right of the goddess; legend on right margin more distinct and same as on Type 1: *Śrī Narendravina (nī) ta*. Since the goddess has a *hansa* as her associate, she is identified as *Sarasvatī* by N. K. Bhattasali.

Jayanāga has the common Gupta type showing the 'Archer king standing' on the obverse, the standard before him being surmounted by a *chakra*, and the legend *Jaya* beneath left arm. On the reverse is seen the goddess *Lakshmī* seated on lotus and being anointed by an elephant on either side; on right margin the legend is *Śrī-Prakāṇḍa-yaśāḥ*. There is no doubt that this king should be identified as Jayanāga of the *Vappaghoshavata grant*, and not as Jayagupta, as suggested by Allan.

The coins of *Śaśāṅka* bear a new device on the obverse. The god *Śiva* nimbate is seen reclining on couchant Bull and above the Bull's neck appears a disc signifying 'full moon', thus bearing an allusion to the king's name (*Śaśāṅka*); on right the word *Śaśa* is written vertically, *īayah* is seen below. The reverse shows the figure of goddess *Lakshmī* 'seated on lotus and being anointed by elephants', as on Jayanāga coins; legend on right margin, *Śrī-Śaśāṅkaḥ*. Although the devices on the coins of *Śaśāṅka* are different, they are connected with the Gupta issues by their fabric and weight-standard.

The coins of the fourth ruler show on the obverse 'the figure of Bull standing to right with two blurred characters between feet; the legend above, *Śrī-Vīrasena* (or *Śrī-Vīrasimha*). The reverse bears the 'figure of goddess *Lakshmī* seated on Lotus' and the legend on the right margin reads, *Kramāditya*.

The above study of their coins indicates that Samāchāradeva and Vīrasena are connected by the common reverse device, viz. '*seated Lakshmī*' and the figure of Bull on the obverse; while Jayanāga and Śaśāṅka are connected by their common reverse device *Abhisheka* of *Lakshmī*'. Since it is known that Samāchāradeva was the king of Vaṅga (Eastern Bengal), and Śaśāṅka was originally the king of Gauḍa (Western Bengal), it will not probably be unreasonable to hold that the 'Seated Goddess' device was continued as the local type of Vaṅga, while the rulers of Gauḍa made some innovations in it by introducing the device of '*Gaja-Lakshmī*'. Thus although two of the coins of Vīrasena are reported to have been found near Vārāṇasī, he seems to have actually ruled in Eastern Bengal as a successor of Samāchāradeva and not at Vārāṇasī, as suggested by Altekar.

Coins of Samāchāradeva and Jayanāga are of finer workmanship and are more related to Gupta originals than those of Śaśāṅka and Vīrasena, which are of comparatively inferior workmanship and further removed from the Gupta models. In fact, a close study reveals that the device of the '*Archer king*' on Samāchāradeva's coins has the nearest resemblance with that on the similar issues of the Gupta king Narasiṃha-gupta (*Bālāditya*). The reverse device of '*Seated Lakshmī*' on the former's coins is also very similar to that on the latter's issues. Again, the so-called *Rājajilā* device of Samāchāradeva's second type of coins reminds us of the *Apratigha* type of Kumāragupta I.

The '*Archer king*' device of Jayanāga's coins, although not so close to the Gupta models, are of tolerably good workmanship and the *chakra* standard is reminiscent of the same device on Kācha's coins. On the other hand, Śaśāṅka and Vīrasena completely discarded the common Gupta motif of '*Archer king*' on the obverse, and adopted instead '*Śiva and his Bull*' and '*Bull alone*' respectively. It is thus obvious that Samāchāradeva and Jayanāga were earlier in date than Śaśāṅka and Vīrasena in their respective regions. According to Allan, Vīrasena was the latest of all.

N. K. Bhattasali suggested that Samāchāradeva was the father of Śaśāṅka and ruled in Gauḍa. Altekar also held that both these rulers belonged to the same dynasty and ruled in Eastern Bengal. But none of these views can be accepted, since we know that Samāchāradeva ruled in Eastern Bengal, while Śaśāṅka was the king of Gauḍa. Moreover, there is no connection between the coin-types of these two rulers. And the suggestion that Samāchāradeva was a feudatory of Śaśāṅka cannot also be upheld, since Samāchāradeva, as we have pointed out, flourished much earlier than Śaśāṅka.

On the other hand, Jayanāga who also ruled in Gauḍa is more nearly connected with Śaśāṅka by the common reverse device. According to Bhattasali, the base metal of Jayanāga's coins (which contains only one-fifth gold) shows that he came to power in Gauḍa after Śaśāṅka. R. C. Majumdar seems to support the tradition recorded in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* that Jayanāga was a successor of Śaśāṅka. But, as we have pointed out, Jayanāga's issues are more connected with the Gupta prototypes and are of finer execution in comparison with those of Śaśāṅka, who should, therefore, be preferably placed later than Jayanāga. R.C. Basak is also of the opinion that Jayanāga preceded Śaśāṅka as the king of Karna-suvarṇa, although he gives no reason.

The Chakra-standard as well as the epithet *Paramabhāgavata* applied to him in his *Vappaghoshavāta* charter makes it clear that Jayanāga was a devout Vaishṇava like the Guptas; and thus he was nearer to the Guptas than Śaśāṅka, who was a Śaiva. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the independent dynasty of Gauḍa was established by him sometime about the middle of the sixth century AD. He might have been the adversary of the Maukharī king Īśānavarman who claims in his *Haraha* inscription of 554 AD to have defeated the Gauḍas. Since Śaśāṅka had a different obverse type which shows that he was a great Śaiva, it does not seem likely that he had any family connection with Jayanāga, who was a Vaishṇava. It is generally presumed that Śaśāṅka started his career as a *Mahāsāmanta* of the later Gupta king Mahāsenagupta. But there is no evidence in support of this view. On the contrary, if it is accepted that Jayanāga was a predecessor of Śaśāṅka in Gauḍa, we may possibly hold that Śaśāṅka was originally a feudatory of Jayanāga.

Later Imitations of Gupta Gold Coins in Eastern Bengal :

Later crude imitations of Gupta gold coins have been discovered in a fairly large quantity from various parts of Eastern Bengal, notably from Sābhār in the Dacca district and Koṭālipādā in the Faridpur district. Allan holds that these coins were actually circulated in Eastern Bengal probably about the 7th century AD. Only two of the names of issuers can be somehow read, one as *Śrī-Sudhanyāditya*, and the other as *Prithuvīra* or *Prithuvīrja*. Although the devices on the coins of all these rulers are apparently the same, the issues of *Prithuvīrja* are sharply distinguished by their larger and thinner fabric and cruder execution from those of the *Sudhanyāditya* group of rulers. Even in the homogenous *Sudhanyāditya* series of coins, there are stages of degeneration, and, as pointed out by Bhattasali, "in the coins found at Sābhār itself, we can distinguish three or more stages of debasement..." Moreover, the indefinite object which surmounts the standard before the king on the obverse, which is described by Allan as a *Horse*, a *spiral Pennon* by Bhattasali and a *Conch* by Altekar, does not appear to be the same on all coins. The different standards might have denoted the personal emblems of different rulers, whose names, if any, we cannot decipher from the barbarous writings on the reverse.

However, on the obverse of the coins of the *Sudhanyāditya* group of rulers occurs, within a large border of dots a crude representation of the 'Archer king standing to left before a standard surmounted by an indefinite object'; on one specimen there is a small *horse* on the left of the king and the letter *Śrī* on the right of the king's head. On almost all other coins, there is neither the *horse* nor any letter like *Śrī*.

The reverse of the coins bears, within a border of dots, the crude figure of a goddess, who appears to be eight-armed in some coins and six-armed on others, and is seen as 'standing to right holding something (a fruit ?) in her proper right hand and wearing a long garland consisting of dot-like objects, which, according to Bhattasali, may represent a 'garland of skulls' (*muṇḍa-mālā*). The legend on the right margin is too crudely written to be deciphered; on some pieces including the one having the figure of a *horse* beside the king on the obverse, it appears to read *Sudhanya*, while on one piece without *horse* it is read as *Śrī-Sudhanyāditya*.

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by Bhattasali; but the reading is not free from doubt. The other illegible legend might contain the names of other rulers of this group.

The coins of Prithuvīrya bear the same devices of the *Archer king* standing before a standard on the obverse and the *multi-armed goddess* on the reverse—both devices being depicted within a thick border of dots. But the representations of both the obverse and reverse figures are much more barbarous and the coin-flan broader and thinner than those of the Sudhanyāditya coins. The legend on the reverse appears in three lines below the king's left arm: (1) *Śrī* (2) *Prithu* (3) *vī ra* and between the feet *ja*.

The attribution of these coins is a matter of uncertainty, since the only two names provisionally read on these coins, viz. Sudhanyāditya and Prithuvīrya are not known from any other source. N. K. Bhattasali at first thought that they were the issues of the Later Guptas of Magadha, who were the successors of the Guptas in that region. But this view cannot be accepted, for these coins are never found in Magadha, and the Later Guptas are not known to have ruled in Eastern Bengal, where these coins are usually discovered. Bhattasali naturally changed his view subsequently and ascribed these coins to the kingdom of Gauda, which rose into independence about the middle of the 6th century. But since the independent kingdom of Gauda during this period roughly corresponded to Western and Northern Bengal these coins coming from Eastern Bengal cannot be attributed to Gauda. On the other hand, the findspots of these coins as well as their association with those of Samāchāradeva (*Rājātilā* type) and Śaśāṅka in some finds (Jessore district) show that the issuers of these coins ruled in Eastern Bengal, then known as the kingdom of Vaṅga, where once Samāchāradeva ruled. Śaśāṅka's territories which originally included the kingdom of Gauda, might have at one time extended upto Eastern Bengal.

We may here refer to one solitary specimen of Śaśāṅka's coinage, which is connected by its weight-standard and the border of large dots with the issues of the Sudhanyāditya group of rulers. Although the obverse and reverse devices are those of Śaśāṅka's coins, they are very crudely represented on this specimen, which is distinguished by weight, purity of metal and fabric from the other coins of Śaśāṅka. Allan's opinion about this coin is worth noting in this connection; for, according to him,

the coin "seems to be a contemporary imitation", and it is evidently to be attributed to the north-eastern part of Śaśāṅka's dominions". This coin might well have formed the prototype of the Sudhanyāditya series of coins, issuers of which ruled in Eastern Bengal after Śaśāṅka.

The history of Eastern Bengal (Vaṅga) after Śaśāṅka is not known for certain. During the time of Hiuen-Tsang a line of Brāhmaṇa kings ruled in Samatata (i. e. South-Eastern Bengal), and according to that Chinese pilgrim, Śilabhadra, the abbot of Nālandā belonged to the concerned line of Brāhmaṇa princes. Any way, as it appears, this Brāhmaṇa dynasty was succeeded by the Buddhist family of the Khadgas. Eastern Bengal (Vaṅga) might have been under the sway of the dynasty of Sudhanyāditya during this period. The uniformity in the type, style and fabric of the coins of the Sudhanyāditya group of princes indicate that they belonged to one and the same family. The occurrence of the figure of a tiny horse on a few specimens of Sudhanyāditya seems to suggest, according to S. K. Chakraborty, that he claimed paramount power by performing a horse-sacrifice. He might, therefore, have been the founder of this local dynasty in Eastern Bengal after Śaśāṅka. Prithuvīrja appears to have belonged to a separate family which ruled there for a very short time after the decline of the Sudhanyāditya group of princes. As aptly stated by N. K. Bhattasali, "in the anarchy that ensued in Bengal towards the close of the 7th century AD and rased throughout the 8th century, every local potentate might have taken upon himself the issue of coins of this type until the type was debased beyond recognition and finally disappeared".

The metrology of the above gold issues of Bengal makes an interesting study. While Samāchāradeva, Jayanāga and Śaśāṅka followed the Gupta *suvarṇa* standard of 80 *rattis* (144 grains), Virasena struck coins on an unusually heavy standard weighing on an average 162.4 grains, which probably theoretically conformed to the 100-*ratti* (180-grain) *Śatamāna* weight-system. The weight of the 'imitation coin' bearing the name of Śaśāṅka is 85 grains, which might have been struck on the half-*Śatamāna* standard of 50 *rattis* (90 grains), and is thus connected with the 100 *ratti* coins of Virasena. Again, it is also connected by its weight with the later Sudhanyāditya-type 'Imitation Gupta Coins' of Eastern Bengal, the average weight of which ranges between 81.7 and 88.3 grains

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and may well represent the 50 *ratti* (90 grain) *half-Śatamāna* measure. It may be noted that the same *half-Śatamāna* standard was not unknown in the Gupta period, although very seldom used; for one coin of Kācha (IMC, I, p. 100, No. 1, note 3) weighing 87.4 grains was evidently struck on the 50 *ratti* *half-Śatamāna* weight-system.

The post-Gupta gold coins of Bengal also throw welcome light on the contemporary religious condition of Bengal. The fact that Jayanāga, the king of Gauḍa, was a *Parama-bhāgavata* indicates that Vaishṇavism persisted in Western Bengal even after the Guptas. On the other hand, the appearance of the *Bull-standard* on the coins of Samāchāradeva, the *Śiva-and-Bull* type on those of Śaśāṅka, and the device of '*Bull alone*' on the issues of Vīrasena shows that Śaivism gained ground in Bengal, specially in its eastern zone during the period of these rulers.

The reverse device of the multi-handed goddess on later '*Imitation Gupta Coins*' indicates, in an interesting manner, the emergence of the Śakti cult in Eastern Bengal. On these coins the goddess is depicted generally with eight hands and a long garland (*muṇḍamālā*), which may consist of human-skulls, often very prominent, and which shows that the goddess wearing it is a *Tantric* divinity and may represent an aspect of *Kāli*. That the worship of an eight-armed goddess was very popular about this period is proved by the discovery from Deulbāḍi (Tipperah) of the bronze image of an eight-armed goddess, called *Śarvāṇī* in the 7th century inscription incised thereon. The *Deulbāḍi image*, however, does not wear any garland of skulls and her iconographic features are somewhat different. It is, however, evident from the discovery of a large number of images relating to Śakti cult from various places in Bengal and Bihar that from this time onwards Bengal and its continuous areas in Bihar became the centre of Śakti worship.

A critical study of the Gupta-type gold coins of Bengal shows how various religious cults prevailed there during the post-Gupta period. Vaishṇavism, of which the Gupta monarchs were great devotees, continued in the Gauḍa region upto at least the time of Jayanāga. In Eastern Bengal, however, Śaivism made its mark a little earlier during the time of Samāchāradeva; and very soon it spread to the Gauḍa region in Western Bengal as is clear from Śaśāṅka's coins. Śaivism continued to flourish for a while

upto the time of Virasena. But before long Śaivism gave place to Śāktism or the Tantric cult, which fact is evident from the multi-handed Śākta goddess wearing *Muṇḍamālā* (garland of skulls), as seen on the later 'Imitation Gupta Coins' of the Sudhanyāditya group of rulers.

Silver Coins

Like their well-established and popular gold issues, silver coins of the Guptas had also an extensive and widespred currency. As with the *dīnāras* in gold, the Guptas also adapted their silver coinage from that of a non-Indian power. Chandragupta II virtually wiped out the Śaka Kshatrapas of Western India, and annexed to his empire the extensive territories of Mālwa, Gujarāt and the Kāthiawāḍa region which they had been ruling for nearly three centuries. Before long the Gupta monarch had to issue a great number of silver coins on the model of the Western Kshatrapa issues, which had been in their turn modelled on the 20-*ratti* Indian drachms of the Indo-Greek princes and bore on the obverse the *Head of the Satrap* to right wearing a shallow cap with the date of issue in the Śaka era to left behind the king's head, written in Brāhmī numerals, and on the reverse a minute composit device comprising the crescent-topped three-peaked Hill with the crescent and the star symbols to right and left and a wavy line below and a circular Sanskritic legend giving the names of the issuer and his father along with their respective satrapal titles.

The traditional Indian conservatism that fostered the unbroken continuance of the characteristic regional silver issues of the Western Kshatrapas also cast an abiding influence on the siver coins that Chandragupta II struck for his newly conquered territories. No doubt, the Gupta monarch retained the style, fabric, weight-standard and the device-formula of the traditional Western Kshatrapa coins; but the Gupta issues by and by brought about a re-orientation, in tune with the superb gold issues.

Like their Kshatrapa counterparts, the obverse of the coins of Chandragupta II depicts his head with a close-fitted cap turned to right and the date of issue behind the head in the Gupta era (instead of the Śaka era), while the reverse replaces the Kshatrapa device by the diminutive figure of a *Garuḍa*, the *vāhana* of Viṣṇu and the royal emblem of the Guptas, and a long circular Sanskritic legend which gives the name of the issuer and his imperial titles and characteristic religious epithet. For his

western provinces Kumāragupta I not only issued this type which continued to be a close copy of the Kshatrapa prototype, but probably also struck a new one with the Kshatrapa-type head on the obverse and a Trident on the reverse; as known from the hand drawn illustration of a unique obscure specimen.

For his central provinces Kumāragupta introduced another distinct type with the royal head on the obverse, shorn of foreign features, and the date in front (not behind) and on the reverse a fan-tailed peacock, the mount of Lord Kumāra (or *Kārtikeya*) after whom the king was named. This type with the same characteristic features was continued by Skandagupta for the Gangetic plain, while for his western provinces he not only continued the conventional *Garuḍa*-type, but also introduced two new ones, having on the reverse the *Bull* and the *Altar* devices respectively. The coins of these two latter types are, however, crudely executed.

The successors of the Guptas in their respective regions also struck 20-ratti silver coins modelled on those of the Guptas. Thus, the *Peacock type* of the Guptas was imitated by the Hūṇa conqueror Toramāna after his conquest of the Gangetic valley. The successors of the Guptas in Madhyadeśa, viz. the Maukharīs and the Pushyabhūti, as well as two other obscure rulers Bhīmasena and Harikānta (?) also struck silver coins modelled on the *Peacock-type* issues of the Guptas. The *Bull-type* of Kumāragupta was imitated by one Kṛishṇarāja who was probably a Kalachuri ruler.

The coins of Toramāna show the Gupta-type head of the king which is conspicuously turned to the left (instead of to the right) and the date 52 in front of the head. On the reverse occurs the figure of a fan-tailed Peacock, as on Gupta issues, and the circular legend reading *Vijitāvanir-avanipati-Śrī-Toramānadivān jayati*, which is an exact copy of that occurring on the *Peacock-type* coins of Budhagupta of Eastern Mālwa. The Toramāna pieces were apparently struck in imitation of those of Budhagupta and give evidence to the conquest of Eastern Malawā by the Hūṇa chief. His coins, however, differ from those of the Guptas in the direction to which the head of the king is depicted. Cunningham suggests that since Toramāna as well as the Maukharīs were the foes of the Guptas, the royal head on their issues are turned to the left in contrast with that on the Gupta coins, which is invariably turned to the right.

Silver issues of three Maukhari rulers are known. They are Īśānavarman (son of Īśvaravarman), his son Sarvavarman, and his son Avantivarman (father of Gṛihavarman). These coins are apparently close copies of those of Toramāna, having the head of the king turned to left with the date in front of the head. As noted by C.J. Brown, there is crescent on the king's head, which "seems to have been derived from the coins of the White Huns who copied it from the Sassanian series". The reverse of the Maukhari pieces shows the usual fan-tailed Peacock, which has two varieties, the head of the Peacock being either turned to left or to right. The reverse legend is the same as that on the issues of Toramāna, only substituting the name of the concerned Maukhari king in place of that of Toramāna. The significance of the dates on these coins and the era to which they refer have been discussed by various scholars who are not unanimous about the readings of the dates. Accepting the reading 257, 258 and 260 on the coins respectively of Īśānavarman, Sarvavarman and Avantivarman, and referring them to the Gupta era, R.C. Majumdar suggests the dates 576-77 AD for Īśānavarman, 577-78 AD for Sarvavarman and 579-80 AD for Avantivarman, which are not very far from their dates as known from other sources.

The coins bearing the names of Pratāpaśīla and Śīlāditya are also of the *Peacock type* of the Gupta fabric. Like the Maukhari coins these issues also depict on the obverse the head of the king turned to left with a crescent (?) above head and the date to left which is preceded by *Sa* (*Samvat*). The reverse, as usual, shows the Peacock to left and the same legend-formula *Vijitāvanir* etc. with *Śrī-Pratāpaśīla* or *Śrī-Śīlāditya* in place of the name. The issuers are respectively identified with Prabhākaravardhana of Thāneśwar and his son Harshavardhana, by R. Burn. This attribution seems to be plausible since we know from Hiuen-Tsang and other Chinese sources that the above two Pushyabhūti rulers were also known as Pratāpaśīla and Śīlāditya respectively.

Two other rulers, unknown from any other source, imitated the *Peacock type* of the Guptas. Of them, the coins of Bhīmasena, like those of the preceding rulers, bear the head of the king turned to left and the date to left in front of the head on the obverse, and the fan-tailed Peacock to left with the usual circular legend substituting *Śrī-Bhīmasena* in place

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of the name of the king on the reverse. Altekar doubts the reading of Bhīmasena and suggests Bhīmarāja, which is also not free from difficulties. The identity of this ruler is not known. But his coins exhibit the closest resemblance with those of Toramāna in several aspects. Like those of the Hūṇa chief, the Bhīmasena pieces are also close copies of the Eastern Mālwa issues of Budhagupta. The royal head is turned to the left on the coins of both Toramāna and Bhīmasena. The date on the issues of both the rulers is presumed by Rapson to be of the same unknown era. We may here refer to some unpublished copper coins in the collection of Mr. Carlo Valdetaro, bearing the name of one Bhīma [sena]? which is very similar to some copper coins of Toramāna, having a Sassanian-type royal head to right on the obverse and a solar symbol with the legend *Tora* in large letters below on the reverse. We do not know if this Bhīmasena of the copper coins is the same as the Bhīmasena of the silver issues. But if they are identical, we have to hold that Bhīmasena was probably a Hūṇa successor of Toramāna in his Indian dominions and that his name was subsequently Indianised like those of some Western Satraps.

The name of the other ruler who struck the *Peacock-type* coins is doubtfully read as Harikānta. The characteristic features of his coins is that the royal head on the obverse is turned to right as on the Gupta coins, and not to left as on the preceding ones. The date is also to right in front of the king's head and is read as 166 by both Smith and Rapson. The reverse depicts the figure of the fan tailed Peacock to left with the usual circular metric legend beginning with *Vijitāvaniravanipati* etc., the name portion reading *Śrī-Harikānta* (?). While suggesting that the name may be read as Harigupta, whose copper coins are known, Altekar admits the difficulty of this reading also. Thus no satisfactory attribution has yet been suggested for this coin. It may, however, be pointed out that if the date is referred to the Gupta era, as suggested by Rapson, it would be equivalent to 486 AD, which indicates that Harikānta (.) was a later contemporary of the Guptas in some portion of their central territories.

The *Bull-type* issues of Skandagupta were imitated by one Kṛishṇarāja, whose coins bear on the obverse the head of the king to right, and on the reverse 'humped Bull couching to right' with the circular legend, which has been read by Rapson as *Parama-Māheśvara-Mahādevyaḥ pādānudhyāta Śrī-Kṛishṇarāja*. This Kṛishṇarāja was formerly identified

as a Rāshtrakūṭa king since 'these coins of Western Gupta fabric are found in the Nasik district, Bombay'. But this identification is not satisfactory. D. C. Sircar, however, identifies him with the Kalachuri king of that name. The Kalachuris came to power in the Northern Mahārāshtra, Gujarāt and the Mālwa region about the second half of the 6th century AD. Three generations of Kalachuri rulers, viz. Kṛishnarāja, his son Śaṅkaragaṇa, and his son Buddharāja, are known from inscriptions and they were all devout Śaivas. The legend on the silver coins of Kṛishnarāja, as well as the device of Bull, the *vāhana* of Śiva on them also give evidence that the issuer was a devotee of god *Maheśvara* or *Mahādeva*. Thus the identification of Kṛishnarāja of the silver coins with the Kalachuri king of that name seems quite plausible. It has also been suggested that these coins are referred to as *Kṛishnarāja-rūpaka* in the *Anjaneri grant* of Prithvichandra Bhogasakti of 709 AD and "were current in the northern part of the Chālukya empire for a long time after the end of Kalchuri rule in that region".

Copper Coins

Only two Gupta monarchs, viz. Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I, struck copper coins, and that too very sparingly. Chandragupta II was the first Gupta emperor to issue coins in silver as well as in copper. His copper issues show a variety of obverse and reverse devices, a few of which were continued by Kumāragupta, who, in his turn, introduced the *Altar-obverse* coins. No copper issue of any of the imperial successors of Kumāragupta has yet come to light.

Interestingly enough, while the gold and silver coins of the Guptas were adapted from foreign prototypes, their copper issues have an originality of their own, and do not betray any extra-Indian influence. They bear on the obverse the figure of the issuing king in different attitudes. The two devices showing the king as an *Archer* and as standing with a *chhatra*-bearing attendant are but replicas of the same two devices known in gold issues. On the other hand, the commonest reverse device in copper is the figure of *Garuda* with outspread wings which is but an elaborate version of the reverse minute device of the western silver issues of the Gupta monarchs. Two other rare but noteworthy devices are the Goddess (*Lakshmi*) and the Vase (*Kalasha*).

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Like those in gold and silver, the copper coins of the Gupta kings were also copied by some local rulers, whose precise identities are yet to be established. The concerned rulers are Rāmagupta, Jayagupta and Harigupta. The coins of Rāmagupta have on the obverse the indistinct figure of an animal, supposed to be a Lion, which by itself is never known to be a coin-motif of the Guptas, and on the reverse a crescent above the legend *Rāmagata* or *Rāmagupta*. These small pieces have no apparent affinity with the Gupta coins in any way, while on the other hand, they bear striking resemblance in the type, fabric, size and weight with similar small copper pieces of the Mālavas and the Nāgas. Significantly enough, they also come mainly from the Mālwa region. It is thus obvious from his coins that this Rāmagupta could not have had any connection with the Imperial Gupta family. The epigraphy of Rāmagupta's coins suggests for him a date about the 4th or the 5th century AD. Thus, if he belonged to a local line in the Mālwa region, he might have ruled there sometime before the extension of the Gupta supremacy over that region by Chandragupta II. That probably explains why his coins were influenced by the local coinage of the Mālavas, and not by the copper issues of Chandragupta which were apparently later in date.

The unique extant coin of unknown provenance bearing the name of Jayagupta shows faint traces of the Gupta-type bust of the king to right on the obverse, and *Garuda* standing facing above the legend, [*Ja*] *yagu*[*pta*] on the reverse. He thus appears to have copied the commonest type of the copper coins of Chandragupta II, which indicates that he must have been later than the Gupta monarch. The earlier form of the letter *ya* occurring in the legend of his coin, on the other hand, suggests for him an early date within the Gupta period. Moreover, his name-ending (*gupta*) as well as his close copying of Chandragupta's copper coins may go to show his probable distant connection with the Imperial Gupta family. Any way, he might have ruled somewhere in the Gupta territories where the *Garuda*-reverse coins had wide circulation, not long after Chandragupta and probably very soon after the end of Kumāragupta's reign.

Two types of Harigupta's coins are known. On one of these there is a *Pūrṇa-kumbha* (*Kalaśa*) on a pedestal on the obverse, while the reverse flan is occupied by a two-line legend, (1) *Śrī-Mahāra* [*ja*] (2) [*Ha*] *rigu-ptasya*. The obverse of those of the other type depicts the king standing

with an umbrella bearer behind, while the reverse shows *Garuḍa* without stretched wings above the legend in two lines : (1) *Mahārāja* (2) *Srī-Harigupta*. Both the types were imitated from the corresponding ones of Chandragupta. His coins, as shown by Allan, seem to belong to the fifth century AD from their epigraphy, and most of them come from Ahichchhatra (modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district) and the adjoining area. D.C. Sircar suggests that Harigupta of these coins is identical with one *Srī-Harirāja* of a *bronze image inscription* coming from the Banda district, U.P., in which the latter claims to have belonged to the Gupta lineage. He holds that the title *Mahārāja*, as applied to Harigupta on his coins, indicates that he was subordinate to the contemporary Gupta emperor. It is, therefore, possible that Harigupta-Harirāja might have ruled in the *Pañchāla*-region as a practically independent king after the decline of the Gupta power about the end of the 5th century AD.

From the above study of their coins it is apparent that the relationship of the concerned three rulers having Gupta-ending names with the Imperial Gupta line is not altogether improbable, though not yet conclusively proved. Even if they are accepted as scions of the Gupta family, they ruled in different regions and at different times evidently within the Gupta period.

GODS AND GODDESSES ON THE COINS OF KARNATAKA

A. V. NARASIMHA MURTHY

A study of the iconography based upon the coins has not attracted either the numismatists or the art historians of India though such a study is bound to be of great help in throwing light on the religious and artistic aspects of our history and useful to both the subjects. Though J. N. Banerjea made some hints in this field of enquiry long ago, it has not been followed up seriously by the researchers in both the fields.¹ The depiction of gods and goddesses on the coins differ considerably from the sculptures and icons found in temples. Apart from the iconographic interest such a study will also help us to understand the religious conditions of the times. An attempt is made here to study the gods and goddesses depicted on the coins of Karnataka from the earliest time to the late medieval period.

The earliest coins that were in circulation in Karnataka were the punch-marked coins. Apart from the stray hoards of punch-marked coins they have been found in excavations at Banāvāsī and Vadagaon.² But these coins do not contain a god or a goddess on them. Subsequently the Śātavāhanas and their feudatories the Chuṭus and Mahārāṭhis issued coins in Karnataka. They also do not contain any god or goddess on them. Thereafter the Kadambas of Banāvāsī began issuing the *padmaṭaṅkas* in gold and they too do not have any representation of any god or goddess. It is only with the Chālukyas of Bādāmi that we come across deities being represented on the coins.

Though the kings of Karnataka gave patronage to all religions, Śiva appears to be more prolific on the coins. Though the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Hoysaḷas built a large number of temples for Śiva, their coins do not contain this god at all. The earliest to portray Śiva on the coins was the Vijayanagara king Harihara II. Though he was a Śaiva, he patronised Vaishṇavism too. On his half *varāha* gold coins, on the

1. J. N. Banerjea, *Origin and Development of Hindu Iconography*.

2. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *The Coins of Karnataka*, p. 33.

obverse we see Śiva and Pārvatī seated on a raised pedestal. Both of them have *kirīṭas*. Śiva is shown as holding a trident and *damarū* in his left and right hands respectively. On the head of Śiva are seen the sun and the moon. On a sub-type of the same coin of the same king Śiva holds a *paraśu* in his hand instead of a *damarū*.

King Devaraya I also portrayed Śiva and Pārvatī on his coins.¹ On his full *varāha* coins we have the two deities. On the obverse, Śiva and Pārvatī are seated on a high seat; both wear *kirīṭa* and other ornaments. The four hands of Śiva are clearly visible. One of the left hands holds a trident and the other hand holds Pārvatī. One of the right hands is in *abhayamudrā* while the other one holds a *damarū*. The sun and the moon are visible near the head of Śiva. In another variety of his gold *varāha* there is a slight variation. Śiva holds a *paraśu* instead of a *damarū* and a *mṛiga* or antelope in his left hand.

That Devaraya II issued a large number of gold, silver and copper coins is testified to by the writings of Abdur Razzak. But his copper coins alone contain Śiva and Pārvatī. As it is a small coin it contains Śiva and Pārvatī without any ornaments and even their attributes are not shown properly. Krishnadevarāya's gold *varāhas* also depict Śiva and Pārvatī. Śiva is seated with Pārvatī on his left lap; Śiva holds a trident in his right hand whereas the other one holds Pārvatī in embrace. The other details are not clear. Sadāśivarāya continued the use of similar coins. On his *varāha* coins of gold weighing nearly 60 grains, Śiva and Pārvatī are seated on an ornamented *pīṭha*. The *kirīṭas* of both and *damarū* and *paraśu* are clearly seen. In fact this depiction of Śiva and Pārvatī became so popular that all the post-Vijayanagara dynasties imitated the same including Haider Ali.

The next portrayal of Śiva and Pārvatī is seen on the coins of the Nāyakas of Keladi. Śrī Sadāśivanāyak of this dynasty issued gold *varāhas* imitating those issued by Vijayanagara king Sadāśivarāya. On the obverse of this coin we see Śiva and Pārvatī seated on a high pedestal; Śiva holding a trident in his right hand and an antelope in his left. In fact both these coins are so similar that it would be difficult to decide whether it belongs to Sadāśiva of Vijayanagara dynasty or of the Keladi dynasty.

1. A. V. N. Murthy, *op. cit.* p. 149.

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As the word *pratāpa* is common in the coins of Vijayanagara, the occurrence of that word is taken as the distinct mark in these cases. Copper coins of Venkaṭappanāyaka also contain Śiva and Pārvatī on their obverse. But the details are lost.

It is highly interesting to note that the coins of Haider Ali also contain Śiva and Pārvatī.¹ Haider did not like to change the highly popular type of this coin which was in vogue right from the time of Vijayanagara. Though this can be taken as an index of religious toleration exhibited by Haider. It has to be admitted that the political considerations also might have played their own part in continuing this type of coin. He was wise enough to continue the old tradition of Hindu deities on his coins also. In fact his gold coins are based upon the model of Keḷadi Sadāśivanāyaka. But the only difference is that these were transferred to the reverse of the coins. His gold coin called *Bahāduri pagoda*, which was in extensive circulation, had Śiva and Pārvatī seated; Śiva holding a trident and a deer in his hands. Similar coins were minted by Mysore Oḍeyar ruler Kṛṣṇarāja Oḍeyar III. His *Hosa Ikkēri Varāha* shows Śiva and Pārvatī seated; Śiva holding a trident and a deer in his left and right hands respectively. Thus Śiva and Pārvatī appear on the coins of Karnataka beginning from the coins of Vijayanagara and ending with Kṛṣṇarāja Oḍeyar III. By sheer numerical appearance he seems to be the most popular deity in Karnataka.

Vishnu and Lakshmi

The occurrence of these two deities on the coins of Karnataka is not so prolific as that of Śiva and Pārvatī. However, we notice a large number of temples dedicated to these deities in Karnataka. Vishṇu and Lakshmī appear on the gold *varāhas* and half *varāhas* of Vijayanagara king Devarāya I. On the *varāha* coins Lakshmī and Vishṇu are seated on a lotus. Vishṇu holds the *sudarśana chakra* with three conventional flames and a *śankha* in two hands. On the gold coin of Harihara II, the two deities are similarly represented. In addition to it we see the other hand of Vishṇu around Lakshmī and the remaining hand is shown in the *Abhaya-mudrā*.² The next king in the Vijayanagar dynasty to issue similar coins was Sadāśivarāya. On his gold *varāhas* we see Lakshmī and Vishṇu seated

1. Henderson, *Coins of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan*, p. 19.

2. N. Ramesan, *A Catalogue of Vijayanagara coins in the A. P. Government Museum*, p. 59.

on a raised *pīṭha* and both of them wear *kirīṭas* and other ornaments. Viṣṇu holds *śaṅkha* and *chakra* in his hands. However, on the coins of Haider Ali, only Viṣṇu is seen. He has a *śaṅkha* and *chakra* to his left and right.

Lakshmi and Narasimha

Sculptures of Lakshmī and Narasimha are rare in Karnataka. For the first time this deity occurs on the coins of Hoysala king Narasimha II. On this coin is seen Narasimha seated in *padmāsana* holding a *śaṅkha* and *chakra*. Next, this god appears on the coins of Harihara II in which are seen Lakshmī and Narasimha seated on a high pedestal. This deity again appears on the coins of Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Oḍeyar who was the first to establish a mint and strike coins in the Mysore Oḍeyar dynasty.¹ On his half *varāha* coins, which weigh 26 grains, a four armed Narasimha is seen sitting with Lakshmī on his left lap, holding *śaṅkha* and *chakra* in two hands. The same king also issued *haṇas* which were popularly known as *Agala Kanṭhīrāya haṇa* and they contained Narasimha alone without Lakshmī.

Venkatesvara

Venkateśvara of Tirupati was and still is a popular god not only in South India but in the entire country. This god had a large number of kings as his devotees among whom Vijayanagara kings are important. It is also known from epigraphical sources that the kings of Vijayanagara gave munificent grants to this temple of Tirupati. Portrait sculptures of Kṛishṇadevarāya are kept in the Tirupati temple in the attitude of showing reverence to Venkateśvara. Kṛishṇadevarāya started the tradition of issuing coins with the portrait of this god on the obverse. It is well known that he had special devotion to this god and he also performed the *kanakābhisheka* to the lord of Tirupati after his victory over Orissa. The king minted these coins specially for this purpose. Even the weight of these coins which is double *varāha* of 117 grains suggests that they were special issues. Even the diameter of the coin is more so that the flan of the coin could clearly depict the god in question.² The obverse of this coin contains god Venkateśvara standing on a lotus wearing a tall

1. *The Coins of Karnataka*, p. 66.

2. N. Ramesan, *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

kirīṭa; he has four arms; the right hand holds a *chakra* while the left has a *śaṅkha*; the right front hand is in *abhayamudrā*; above the image is an ornamental arch with a lion face in the middle. Thus it is of interest to know that there is not any substantial change in the appearance and the decoration of this deity as of today.

Śrīrangarāya revived the tradition of these coins and issued *varāhas* of 52 grains with Venkaṭeśvara on the obverse.¹ The depiction of the deity was similar to the one found on the coins of Kṛishṇadevarāya. However, a change is noticed in the position of one of the hands. One of the hands is in *dānamudrā* while the other rests on his hip. The ornamental pillars are seen on both sides of the deity and the arch is supported on them. King Venkaṭapatirāya II also issued similar coins. However, Venkaṭapatirāya III changed the pattern. Here the god is standing with Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī to his left and right.² The tall *kirīṭa* the *śaṅkha* and *chakra* are clearly seen. The last Vijayanagara king to issue similar coins was Śrīrangarāya IV. On the obverse of these coins which are referred to as *Gandikoṭa varāhas*, Venkaṭeśvara is seen as in the coins of Kṛishṇadevarāya. The interesting feature of these coins is that they contain the three lined Nāgarī legend “*Śrī Venkaṭeśāya namaḥ*” on the reverse. This deity did not appear on the coins of the subsequent dynasties thereafter.

Krishna

Kṛishṇa had special fascination for the rulers of Vijayanagara. It is a well known fact that Kṛishṇadevarāya after his victory over Udayagiri brought the image of Kṛishṇa and built a temple in Hampi for this deity in about 1514-15 AD. To commemorate this event, he minted the Bālakṛishṇa type of coins in gold in which the deity was portrayed on the obverse.³ We also notice many variations in the representation of this deity. These coins seem to have been quite popular because they were minted in denominations of a full *varāha*, half *varāha* and quarter *varāha*.⁴ On the majority of these coins Bāla-

1. N. Ramesan *op. cit.*, p. 75.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

3. Earlier writers like Heras, Hultzsch, R. S. R. Iyengar could not identify the deity on these coins.

4. N. Ramesan *op. cit.*, p. 67-9.

krishṇa is shown in a sitting posture with left knee completely bent and resting on the seat while the left leg is slightly bent and kept below. The right hand holds a lump of butter and the other hand is set on the knee. He wears ear rings, bracelets, armlets and anklets. To the left is a conch and to the right is a *chakra*. In another sub type, Bālakṛishṇa is shown as sitting with right knee completely bent. In another sub type both the knees are slightly bent and they rest on the seat. The other type is slightly different. Bālakṛishṇa is shown sitting with right knee bent and resting on the seat and the other raised and supporting the arm. Around Bālakṛishṇa's head is a circle of dots with *śaṅkha* and *chakra* to the left and right. In another variety Bālakṛishṇa has a crown decorated with peacock feathers. In another variety, Bālakṛishṇa in addition to the usual ornaments, wears shoulder ornaments and a necklace. The hair falls in curls around the head with a creeper on it.

Bālakṛishṇa again appears on the coins issued by the kings of the Mysore Oḍeyar dynasty. Gold *varāhas* and half *varāhas* of Chikkadevarāja Oḍeyar contain Bālakṛishṇa dancing under an ornamental arch; he wears a girdle of jingles and holds a lump of butter in his right hand.¹ Dancing Bālakṛishṇa is again seen on the *aḍḍa* or half *paṇam* silver coins of Kṛishṇarāja Oḍeyar III. As this coin is very small there is no space for portraying the details.

Brahma and Sarasvatī

A very unique coin containing these two deities was issued by Vijayanagara king Harihara II. On his half *varāha* coins are seen Brahmā and Sarasvatī seated in *padmāsana*. One of the hands of Brahmā is in *abhaya-mudrā* and the other holds a laddle, a *kalāśa* and a book. Sarasvatī holds a *vīṇā* in her hands.

Sri Rama

Though stories of Rāma and Sītā are very popular and a large number of sculptural panels were executed in stone, their portrayal on coins did not become quite popular. The only definite coin with Rāma and Sītā was issued by Vijayanagara king Tirumalarāja I. He changed his capital to Penugonda and inaugurated the tradition of Śrī Rāma coins. On his gold *varāhas* are seen Rāma and Sītā seated; Lakshmaṇa standing behind in an

1. *The Coins of Karnataka*, pp. 237 and 239.

attitude of devotion and holding a bow in his right shoulder. Śrī Rām wears a tall *kirīṭa* and his right hand is in *abhayamudrā*. In a way Tirumalarāya I can be considered as the inaugurator of Rāmaṭanki *varāhas* which became quite popular in the late medieval period. However, it is certain that the *Rāmaṭanki varāhas* were not legal tender and were used for religious purposes.¹ Another coin with a depiction of Rāma has been doubtfully attributed to Hoysaḷa Someśvara by M. H. Krishna.²

Durga

Among the goddesses, Durgā is seen on the coins of many dynasties in Karnataka. The earliest representation of this goddess is seen on the coins of the Hoysaḷas. Gold *varāhas* of Viṣṇuvardhana have on the obverse goddess Durgā sitting on a lion. She holds a *śaṅkha* and *chakra* and wears a tall *kirīṭa*. The entire depiction is within a linear circle. Similar representation is seen on the coins of Hoysaḷa Narasimha I also. A gold *paṇa* attributed to Hoysaḷa Narasimha III depicts on the reverse four armed Durgā wearing a *kirīṭa*, bracelets and anklets and holding *śaṅkha* and *chakra* in her hands.³ In the quarter *haṇa* or *hāga* coin of the same ruler is seen dancing Durgā.⁴

Coins associated with the Pālegars of Chitradurga are connected with goddess Durgā. In and around Chitradurga, *Durgi pagoda* or *Durgi varāha* are household terms. They contain Durgā on them. She is seated on a pedestal. The Oḍeyars of Mysore were great devotees of the goddess Chāmuṇḍī and hence some of their coins contain that goddess. On the gold *haṇa* of Chikkadevarāja Oḍeyar is seen portrait of Chāmuṇḍī along with the legend *Śrī Chāmuṇḍī* in Kannaḍa characters. This legend became very popular and most of the Oḍeyar kings retained this legend even though the portrait of Chāmuṇḍī was absent on the coins.

Śringeri is famous for the goddess Śāradā and as the tradition goes this goddess was consecrated there by the advaitic champion Śaṅkarāchārya himself. Recently Sohanlal Sisodiya has brought to light some coins of Tipu Sultan on which we find the depiction of Śāradā of Śringeri. It is well

1. *The Coins of Karnataka*, p. 169.
2. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1929, p. 28.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
4. *Ibid.*

known to the students of history that Tipu maintained cordial relationship with the contemporary Śaṅkarāchārya of Sringeri and had great respect for this *māṭha* and even made a large number of gifts of gold coins and other materials. Hence Tipu issued gold coins having the picture of goddess Sārādāmbā on the obverse. The goddess appears exactly similar to what we see today in the temple dedicated to her in Sringeri. Thus this is a rare coin of Tipu Sultan and throws further interesting light on Tipu Sultan's relations with Sringeri.¹

Karttikeya

The gold and electrum coins of Chālukya Vikramāditya I of the Bādāmi line depicts this god on the reverse.² It shows a standing figure and serpent with a raised hood in front. From the traces of the peacock this figure has been identified as Kārttikeya.

Garuda

Garuḍa has been a popular deity on the coins of Vijayanagara rulers in particular. He was first portrayed by Harihara I. On his copper coins we find Garuḍa with a long beak standing to the right and face looking back. It became so popular that most of the Vijayanagara kings imitated this type in copper coinage. The next ruler to have Garuḍa was Kṛṣṇadevarāya. On his copper coins on the obverse is seen Garuḍa within a circle of dots; he wears a tall *kirīṭa* and his hands are joined in an attitude of devotion; he kneels on his left knee in *vīrāsana* pose; his wings are very clear. In a similar coin, near the head of the Garuḍa are seen *śaṅkha* and *chakra*.³ Sadāśivarāya issued similar coins. On the coins of Venkaṭapatirāya is seen kneeling Garuḍa without a *kirīṭa*; a sheathed sword is seen hanging on his left. There are many variations in the depiction of Garuḍa in his coins.⁴

Hanuman

Hanumān is another popular deity on the coins of the kings of Vijayanagara. However, the Kadambas of Hangal first portrayed this

1. A detailed study of these coins will be published soon by the author.
2. *JNSI*, vol. XXVI, p. 244-46, and vol. XXVII, p. 46-52.
3. N. Ramesan, *op. cit.* p. 70.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

deity on their coins. A gold coin on its reverse has two concentric circles within which Hanumān is seen in a sitting posture. On both sides are seen two *chowries*. In the Vijayanagara period, this deity was first portrayed by Harihara I. On his copper coins is seen Hanumān to the right with knees bent; the left hand resting on the left knee and the right hand raised up; the tail is lifted up behind the head and the face looking forward. On the coins of Bukka I similar representation is seen. On the copper coins of Venkaṭapatirāya II is seen Hanumān standing to the left with knees bent; the right hand raised and the tail lifted up in the form of an arch.¹

Thus the above study shows the personal preferences of the kings of Karnāṭaka in selecting deities on their coins. A comparative study of the iconography of these gods and goddesses as depicted on the coins and sculptures found in the temples would be rewarding and perhaps fill up many gaps in our knowledge of iconography. Whether these depictions obeyed the rules and regulations of the *Śilpaśāstras* in the matter of attributes and iconometry is also an interesting line of study. Any student of religious history and art history cannot afford to ignore the contribution of numismatics in this regard.

1. N. Ramesan, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

COPPER COINS AND THEIR MINTING IN EARLY MEDIEVAL KASHMIR : A PROBLEM

Y. B. SINGH

Numismatic wealth of the valley particularly of the period under discussion is well known but less exploited.¹ The reason is that for the history of Kashmir we have historical records in the form of various *Rājatarāṅgiṇīs* more informative and authentic in character. Thus the main approach in this direction has been to use coins only as the corroborative source of political and economic history. On the other hand, the study of coins with a view to trace the various phases of the art of coinage is of immense value and sometimes it brings to light the missing traces of the civilizational process of a region or country. One such instance is the genesis of copper money of early Kashmir which, to our mind, cannot be explained with the help of written histories alone.

The emergence of copper coins except those of Toramāṇa minted within the valley and the bronze and ivory icons can generally be ascribed to the period of eighth century AD and onwards—the period marked with the beginning rather culmination of political and cultural ascendancy of Kashmir. Yet, when compared with highly developed art of architecture, sculpture etc. the art of coinage looks almost primitive. Not only this, the coins as art object are also much inferior in comparison to bronze and ivory icons of the same said period.² The phenomenon appears much more strange when studied in historical context. The valley of Kashmir, according to most of the historians, was ruled by Kushāṇas whose gold coins are appreciated admirably and equated with those of Imperial Rome.³ What were, then, the causes for the low standard in the artistic traits of coinage of the valley? That too, when the important role played by

1. Cunningham, A., *Coins of Mediaeval India*, pp. 25-46, Smith, V. A., *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, pp. 265-68; Gopal, Lallanji, *Early Medieval Coins-types of Northern India*, pp. 16-28, 57-64, Gupta, P. L., *Coins*, pp. 67-68; etc.
2. Majumdar, R. C. (ed.), *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 666; the early Medieval metal and ivory sculptures of Kashmir have been taken as good as those of Eastern India.
3. Majumdar, R. C. (ed.). *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 139-40; Chattopadhyaya, S., *Early History of Northern India*, pp. 111-112.

Kashmir in the tripartite struggle for the control of the trade routes of Central Asia between Tibet, China and the rising Turks and economic benefits it availed in early medieval period are well known facts.¹ The suggestion of scholars attributing the reason of artistic degradation of early medieval coins in general cannot be accepted in its totality due to the advanced technique applied in modelling of metal sculptures in the same period. Ascribing, therefore, degeneration to the "shifting of emphasis from the minor manifestations of art to gigantic ones"² is a proposition hard to prove. The more accepted trend, among art critics, is the reflection of fineness achieved in one particular trade on all other art activities of a period. The baroque style of seventeenth century, for example, can be had in the construction of palatial buildings as well as in the designing of small pieces of ornaments of that phase.

More probable explanation in this regard, can, however, be had from the analysis of Kashmir's economic conditions and its trade contacts with other Asian countries. The region had a flourishing trade prior to the eighth century AD when its adjoining Central Asian routes were disturbed due to the Arab intrusions, a period which marks the decline of trade based economy and rise of agricultural pursuits in the valley.³ The decline in trade generally brings the importance of coins to its lowest ebb, no doubt, but the case of Kashmir coins is a little different in nature. For, the issue of copper money except those of Toramāṇa in general and its minting in particular are the factors which can be associated with certainty with the said period alone.⁴ The reason is, as pointed out above, that inspite of

1. Snellgrove, D. & Richardson, H; *A Cultural History of Tibet*, pp. 32-49; Ma'umdar, R. C. (ed.), *The Classical Age*, p. 133; Singh Y. B, 'Commercial Activity in Ancient Kashmir, in *Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference, tenth session*, pp. 36 ff.
2. Prakash, V., 'Early Medieval Coins : Some Thoughts on Art and Iconography', paper presented at All India Numismatic Conference, Lucknow, 1968.
3. *Proceedings of the Panjab History Conference, tenth session*, pp. 36 ff; Due to the attention paid to irrigation facilities more land was brought under cultivation; cf. Kalahāṇa, *Rājatarāṅgīnī*, (English translation by Sir, A. Stein) V. 74-80. Here after the text is mentioned as R. T., See also Singh, Y. B. 'An Appology for the Study of Regional History with particular reference to Jammu and Kashmir, paper presented at ICHR seminar, Simla, 1981.
4. Except those of Toramāṇa main coins issues belong to this period. Cf. Cunningham, A., *op. cit*, pp. 27 ff; Ray, S. C., *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 242; Saxena, K. S., *Political History of Kashmir*, pp. 318 ff.

Muslim interference Kashmir continued to earn from its trade contacts atleast till the time of king Harsha. Thus for a long period Kashmir enjoyed exuberant prosperity obtained both from commercial and agrarian accounts. Nevertheless, this peculiarity of Kashmiri economy, too, does not explain the aforesaid problem of copper coins.

The process becomes, to some extent, explainable only when we take into consideration the art of copper coinage itself. Beginning of the copper coins on the basis of the known coin types can be ascribed to the period of Toramāṇa who according to Cunningham belonged to Kidāra Kushāṇa line.¹ The coins struck by this ruler remained in circulation till at least fifteenth century AD.² However, such a prolonged continuity of coins issued by a particular ruler inspite of political upheavals and dynastic changes is in itself a problem. In this context it should also be noted at the very outset that Kashmir did not possess any copper ore of its own. The copper ore belonging to the period of Zaiun'ī Abidin was perhaps impoverished one and did not last long. As a consequence its minting neither finds mention in immediately succeeding centuries nor is known in our own days in this part of country.³ The use of ward *giri* instead *khani* by Kalhana in context of copper while detailing with the administration of Jayāpīḍa is, therefore, not without significance.⁴ It appears that after his return from Nepal and having noticed the technique of minting copper coins there, Jayāpīḍa was struck by the same idea. Since coins of Toramāṇa were popular in the valley his fascination to issue his own coins was natural. He seems to have come across a big hoard (poetically described as *giri* = mountain) of some earlier king, probably of Toramāṇa,⁵ and utilised it for minting coins after his name which practice gained currency subsequently because of the import of copper and technique of its casting from Nepal.⁶ Interestingly, there are variety of copper coins issued by the

1. Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, p. 27.

2. R. T., Vol. II, p. 320.

3. Bates, C. E., *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, p. 18.

4. R. T., IV. 615-617.

5. *Ibid.*, III. 103. Since Toramāṇa was imprisoned for issuing the coins it is quite possible that his brother the king did try to put his coins out of circulation by ordering their burials in bulk.

6. *Ibid.*, see also Singh, Y. B., *Kashmir and Nepal, Proceeding of Panjab History Conference 14th Session*, pp. 69 ff. Sir Stein, however, took the reference as

succeeding kings. The shortage of copper coins, perhaps because of the non-availability of raw material within the valley and irregular supply from outside.¹ Shortage, sometimes even in comparison to costlier metals, was felt even as late as the period of king Harsha who ruled in the last decades of the eleventh century AD.² And this supports our contention. The exceeding number of copper coins in reported finds and present museum collections, it should be noted, is not because of their minting in abundance but due to the value of gold and silver and use of these as ornaments.

Thus the art of copper-smith first developed in Kashmir because of its connection with Kushāṇas,³ no doubt, but fell in abeyance in latter days and was revived again when it established relations with Nepal in early medieval period.⁴ In this regard it has already been discussed elsewhere that there were trade contacts between Nepal and Kashmir and the Pāla and Sena schools of metal art were received in Kashmir through Nepal via Tibet.⁵ The only valid reason which can be accepted for the fact that both Nepalese and Kashmiri bronze and ivory icons, belonging to eighth century onward display the impact of Eastern Indian School⁶ is due to the said contact alone. And, therefore, since the art of metal sculpture was in very advanced stage in Eastern India it remained advanced at the time of receiving by Kashmir also. The art of coinage, on the other hand, did not achieve fineness because during the period it was not much favoured due to agriculture based economy even in Eastern India, the place from where the

suggestive of a mine though the Śloka clearly speaks about the receipt of a hoard (ताम्राकरं गिरिम cf. R. T. IV 616) of copper which nowhere suggests the discovery of a mine, cf. R. T., IV. 615-17.

1. Snellgrove D. & Richardson, H., *op. cit.*, p. 49; Since trade between Nepal and Kashmir was through Tibet the ascendancy of Tibetan power might have created a problem for caravan leaders faring between Nepal and Kashmir. Further, it should also be noted, that the mineral resources of Tibet remained untouched till as late as 1940 AD because of people's faith that spirits live below the surface of the earth. See Pranavananda, *Kailasha-Manasarovara* (Hindi).
2. R. T., VII. 950. The accumulation of gold in the valley during the early medieval period is referred to by Kalhaṇa cf. R. T., Vol. II, pp. 317-18.
3. *Ibid.*, II. 103.
4. *Ibid.*, IV. 531-80.
5. *Proceedings of Panjab History Conference 14th Session* pp. 69 ff.
6. Majumdar, R. C. (ed.) *Struggle for Empire*, p. 666.

'know how' was obtained. Another phase of Kashmir history for which we have sufficient copper coins also votes in favour of the said submission. The coin issues of Kidāra Kushāṇa ruler Toramāṇa¹ belonging to the tradition of trade based economy, though inferior to Imperial Kushāṇa coins, remained in currency because these were atleast superior to those copied from the coins of eastern India where economy was agriculture based.

And, this alone would explain the sudden currency of copper in early medieval Kashmir and the nature and standard of their art along with the plenty and prolonged circulation of coins of Toramāṇa.

1. R. T., Vol. II, pp. 317 ff; Ray, S. C., *op. cit.*, p. 242. Even traces of gilding (to convert copper coins into gold dinnāra), an art popular under Kushāṇas, were noticed by Cunningham on certain copper coins in the Valley. cf. *op. cit.*, p. 27 ff.

PROCEEDINGS

The inauguration of the 69th Annual Conference of the Society took place at 10.30 A M on 18th October, 1981 in Hall of the Sambalpur University, Jyoti Vihar Sambalpur. The Chief Guest was Sri Gangadhar Mahapatra, Minister of Education, Orissa. Dr. N. K. Sahu was the Guest of Honour. After preliminary formalities the Chief Guest inaugurated the Conference. Then Local Secretary, Professor S. C. Behera, read the messages. Dr. Harkrushna Mahtals message is as follows :

Mr. President,

Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Chairman and the Organisers of the Numismatic Society of India, distinguished scholars and friends,

I am not a student of numismatics and quite incompetent to deal with the subjects which you will discuss here. But I shall make some general observations, which are the outcome of my research in history. As president of the advisory council for the Orissa Museum, archaeology and archives, I take this opportunity to acquaint them who have graced the conference from outside with the collection of coins for our Museum.

I give below a list of collection of coins for the Orissa Museum.

1. Punch-marked coins ; About 2000 pieces are now in the museum. These were discovered from Mayurbhanj, Balasore, Sonapur in Bolangir district, Jharpada and Samantaraipur, Jagumara near Bhubaneswar in Puri district, Salepur in Cuttack district and Asurgarh in Kalahandi district.
2. One gold coin of Chandragupta II from Lalitagiri found in 1978.
3. In 1977, 14 gold Ganga fanams from Chandaka reserve forest. Published in *JNSI* Vol. XL. by S. Tripathy.
4. In 1979 two Ganga fanams along with some gold ornaments were discovered from Puri.
5. In 1980 from Sohela in Sambalpur district 33 silver coins of the Mughal emperors were collected for the Museum.
6. In 1981, 6 gold repouse type coins of Mahendraditya and Kramaditya were collected from Maraguda in Kalahandi district.
7. Besides there are as many as hundreds of Gold Ganga fanams in the collection of the Museum, discovered in different parts of Orissa, viz. Dhenkanal, Puri. Balasore, Cuttack, Sambalpur, and Bolangir districts.
8. In 1977, 9 silver coins of the Bahamani Sultanate from Nrusimhanath in Sambalpur district were found. Abundant finds of Puri-Kushana coins throughout the length and breadth of Orissa have been reported time and again.

About 3000 Mughal and Muslim coins are now in the Orissa Museum.

Most of the coins have not been studied yet. May I request the scholars to take interest in the examination of these coins. I am not so much interested in the study of coins as in their history and research in all their aspects. Some time ago it struck me whether discovery of coins all over India could suggest any indication as to the routes which the traders and pilgrims used to follow for journey from one place to another. Usually study of coins is made to find out in which period and in whose kingdom particular coins were issued. Also, some historical date is sought to be obtained from the inscriptions in the coins. But the fact that from the very ancient times there used to be movement of people from one region to another both for the purposes of trade and also for visiting various pilgrim centres spread all over India does not attract the attention of the scholars in history. I made some study of the State of Orissa to find out by which route conquerors came to Orissa and whether any indication could be obtained from the names of the villages or from coins discovered. So far, source of the coins which have been discovered indicate that these might have been used by the traders and also possibly by the pilgrims as well. Sufficient evidence has been available to show the extent of trade with many other countries in east and west coasts of India. Unfortunately, so far as the east coast of India is concerned almost all the ports mentioned in early records have disappeared as a result of change in the course of rivers, silting of river mouths and erosion by the sea. But there is evidence to show that east coast had very active trade with the hinter-land of Madhya Pradesh, Bengal and Andhra.

Besides the aspect of trade and pilgrim routes another subject which attracted my attention is whether money mechanism was existing in ancient days as to-day and whether payment of money was used for services rendered and goods obtained. If money mechanism was there, what was the exchange rates between the gold, silver, copper and lastly the *Kauri* about which, we get plenty of instances from ancient literature. I do not know whether the discovery of coins could give any indication with regard to the prevalent money mechanism of ancient days. All these observation may not be strictly relevant to numismatics. But I think research of these subjects will be of considerable use and interest for the research scholars in history. I have nothing more to add. I convey my regards to the scholars who have assembled here. I congratulate the authorities of the Sambalpur University and the Department of History on the initiative which they have taken to host the 69th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society at Jyoti Vihar.

I thank you all again.

H. Mahtab

Then Dr. S. Sahu, I.A.S., Administrator of Sambalpur University welcomed the delegates which runs as follows.

Mr. President, Honourable Minister of Education. Sri Gangadhar Mahapatra, Chairman of the Numismatic Society of India, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.

It is a rare honour to welcome you all to this conference on behalf of the University as well as on my personal behalf. Burla is a small place with certain limitations. You are accustomed to hold your conferences in large cities like Calcutta, Patna, Delhi and so on. The very fact that you have condescended to hold the conference in a young University situated in a small sylvan setting shows your largeness of heart and sincere desire that your wisdom and your ideas shall not be confined to the traditional higher centres of education only.

But this area though small and still covered in darkness is not without a history of its own. It is located in the historic land of South Kōśala. History of South Kōśala is an integral part of the history of Orissa. Under the mighty Soma-vamsis, the western part of Orissa called Kōśala and the Coastal tract of Orissa called Utkala, were amalgamated and under their patronage famous monuments like the Yogini temple of Ranipur, Jharial temple of Vaidyanth near Sonepur were built in South Kōśala and the famous temples of Mukteswara, Rajarani, Brahmesvara and Lingaraja were built at Bhubaneswar. In recent times attempt has been made by some archaeologists to link Sonepur with Lanka of Ramayana. Further the excavation at Manmunda, undertaken jointly by the Deccan College, Poona University and the P. G. Department of History of our University, I hope, will throw light on the history of South Kōśala atleast on the age of Ramayana. From very early period to the modern times this part of Orissa played an important role in Indian history. The role of Surendra Sai of Sambalpur during the Revolt of 1857 is well known to our historians. In the modern times this part of Orissa is forging ahead socially economically and culturally with its rich mineral deposits and industrial resources. The world famous Hirakud Dam, by the side of our campus is a mute witness to this great advancement.

Our University was formed in the year 1967 with its central office at Sambalpur and we moved to this Campus in 1972. Our P. G. Department of History was started in the year 1969. It has an archaeological bias. Within a decade the department has made a remarkable progress in organising teaching and research. It has organised a museum, palmleaf manuscript library and an archive cell. The museum has a good collection of coins and seals in addition to a large number of sculptures, copper plate inscriptions, stone inscriptions, pre-historic tools and an art gallery. The teachers, scholars and students of the department have worked with a team spirit to enrich the museum. At present we have in our museum punch-marked coins, Puri-Kushana coins, gold coins of Imperial Gangas and coins of the British East India Company. I believe our numismatists of this conference would love to study these numismatic finds of this locality and share their views during their stay here and later through their learned papers.

Ancient Indian Numismatics is being taught in this University as a full paper in the P. G. Department of History. I hope our students will take this opportunity to meet the experts in this field and be benefited by their erudite discussions.

Once again I welcome you all to this conference. A small University like ours could not have made arrangements for an All India Conference without the goodwill and assistance of the local Government authorities, neighbouring institutions and industrial corporations. I offer my thanks to the guests, the Revenue Divisional Commissioner

(Northern Division), to the Collector, Sambalpur and all those institutions, individuals and the students, who have contributed to the successful organisation of this first All India Conference under the auspices of this University. I also offer my thanks to all those who have helped us in organising the stalls and exhibition on this historical occasion. Before I close let me offer my apologies to the delegates and officials for the discomforts they may have faced or may be facing due to the limitations of our resources. There are no limitations, however, to our sincerity of purpose and our hearts are large. Together and with goodwill, I am sure, we will be able to carry on with our tasks and open up new horizons in discovering our glorious past in the heap of the evidence of historical remains, among which coins are obviously very important.

I pray God for His blessings to the conference.

Jai Hind

Then the president of the Session Prof. A. M. Shastri read his Presidential Address which has been printed else where in this volume. The meeting was over with a vote of thanks by the Local Secretary.

The meeting of the Executive Council of the Society was held at the University Guest House, Sambalpur on the 18th October, 1981 at 9.30 P M. The following members were present :—

1. Prof. Dr. A. V. Narsimha Murthy (In the Chair)
2. Prof. Dr. A M. Shastri
3. Prof. Dr. Upendra Thakur
4. Prof. Dr. A. N. Lahiri
5. Dr. Bhaskar Chatterjee
6. Shri S. N. Samanta
7. Dr. R. D. Choudhary and
8. Dr. T, P. Verma

1. To confirm the minutes of the last meeting of the Executiue Council held on the 3rd June, 1981 at Pune. : The minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Council held on 3rd June, 1981 at Pune, were read and confirmed.
2. To observe the condolences : The condolences for the following persons associated with the Society were observed.
 1. Late Shri Arvind Kumar H. Sanghvi.
 2. „ „ Santosh Kumar,
 3. „ „ Vishan Narain Kapoor.
 4. „ Prof. Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
 5. „ Prof. Dr. N. R. Ray,
 6. „ Dr. B. C. Sen,
 7. „ Dr. B. N. Sharma and
 8. „ Dr. A. Ghosh.

3. To approve the General Secretary's Report. : The General Secretary's Report was read and approved.
4. To approve the Auditor's Report for the year 1980-81. : The Auditor's Report was read and approved.
5. To approve the Revised Budget for the years 1981-82 and 1982-83. : The Revised Budget for the year 1981-82 was approved.
6. To consider the invitation for holding the 70th Annual Conference of the Society from the Vikram University, Ujjain. : The invitation of Prof. K. C. Jain for holding the 70th Annual Conference at Ujjain was considered and accepted with thanks. It was also decided that Prof. Jain be requested to fix the Conference some time in October, 1982.
7. To consider the question of nominating the President of the Society for the next session. : The question of nominating the President of the Society for the next session was considered and it was decided that Prof. Dr. Upendra Thakur be requested to preside over the next session.
8. To consider the request of Prof. Dr. K. C. Jain, Head of the University School of Studies in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Vikram University, Ujjain, to resolved about the inclusion of Ancient Indian History, Culture Archaeology as a subject of the Civil Service Examinations. : The request of Prof. K. C. Jain of Vikram University, Ujjain regarding inclusion of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, as a subject in the list of the optional subjects of the civil services was considered and the following resolution was passed :—

: "The Executive Council of the Numismatic Society of India resolves that Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology be favourably considered by the Union Public Service Commission for inclusion as subject in the list of optional subjects of the Civil Services Examinations on the following grounds:—

1. This subject is taught in most of the Universities of India such as Calcutta, Banaras, Madras, Allahabad, Lucknow, Patna, Chandigarh, Ujjain, Bhopal, Sagar, Magadh at Bodhgaya etc. Thus, the number of students studying this subject is considerable.

2. This subject is no less comprehensive in comparison with the subjects mentioned in the list of optional subjects. It covers archaeology, political history, political social and economic institutions, religion, art and architecture, Greater India, Numismatics, Epigraphy, Historical Geography and History of ancient Indian literature.

3. It is expanding day by day because of its relationship to the developing Natural Sciences such as Geology, Palaeontology, Polynology and Nuclear physics (carbon 14 method).

4. In the previous syllabus of I.A.S. Examination, there were two papers-Indian History, I from Chandragupta Maurya to Harsha and, II Ancient Indian Civilization and Philosophy. In the present syllabus of the subject History covers only one fourth portion of of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology.

5. This subject is directly concerned with the roots of Indian civilization. Therefore, its study should be encouraged by including in the list of the optional subjects."

9. To consider the letter of Shri Pranlal K. Shah : The letter of Sri Pranlal K. Shah was read and noted.

10. To consider the question of : (1) The question of investment of Life-Membership fees in the National Savings Certificate in the Post Office was considered and it was resolved that this should be done henceforth.

(ii) Suitable investment of matured : The question of matured Special Fund Fixed Deposit money of Rs. 15, 720/-was considered and it was resolved that the money be invested suitably in National Saving Certificates in the Post Office or in the Bank as decided by the office bearers.

11. To consider the issue of Membership : It was resolved that the Life Members and Certificate to Life and other members. Ordinary Members be issued membership Certificates

12. To consider the suitable ways and means to celebrate the 70th Conference of the Society. It was considered and a Sub-Committee of following persons was constituted :

- i. Prof. A. M. Shastri.
- ii. Prof. A. N. Lahiri,
- iii. Dr. Bhaskar Chatterjee,
- iv. Dr. T. P. Verma (Convenor)

The Committee was requested to submit its recommendations by the afternoon of 19th October, 1918.

13. Any other matter with permission of the Chair. : Under 'any other other matters' the following resolutions were passed :—

- (i) Revision of the Monograph
- (ii) Sending of Journal by Regd. Post/V. P. P.
- (iii) Photographs of the Journal to be improved.

- i. On the proposal of Prof. A. M. Shastri it was decided that the Monograph Series should be revised before printing and these should not be printed as such.
- ii. Prof. A. N. Lahiri raised the question of loss of Journal in transit. It was considered and decided that those members who want to get their copies of the Journal by registered post should inform the office and the cost of the postage be realised by sending through V. P. P.
- iii. Dr. T. P. Verma was asked to contact the Press regarding the improvement of the printing of photographs to be printed in the next issue.

Sd/-(Upendra Thakur)

General Secretary

Numismatic Society of India

A meeting of the General Body of the Numismatic Society of India held on the 20th October, 1981 in the University Guest House, Sambalpur. It was presided over by Prof. Dr. A. V. Narsimha Murthy, Vice-Chairman of the Society. The following members attended the meeting.

Executive Council Members :

1. Prof. Dr. A. V. Narsimha Murthy	Vice-Chairman (in Chair)	Mysore
2. Prof. Dr. A. M. Shastri	President	Nagpur
3. Prof. Dr. Upendra Thakur	General Secretary	Bodhgaya
4. Dr. T. P. Verma	Joint-Secretary	Varanasi
5. Prof. Dr. A. N. Lahiri	Member	Calcutta
6. Dr. Bhaskar Chatterjee	"	Burdwan
7. Dr. R. D. Choudhury	"	Gauhati
8. Shri S. N. Samanta	"	Burdwan

Honorary Fellow :

9. Prof. K. D. Bajpai		Sagar
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Life Member :

10. Prof. Dr. B. N. Mukherjee		Calcutta
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Ordinary Members :

11. Sri K. H. Kachhia		Baroda
12. „ Chandra Kishore Sahai		Bagodar
13. „ K. J. Furia		Bombay
14. „ K. M. Savla		"
15. Smt. V. M. Savla		"
16. Miss Chhanda Mukherjee		Calcutta
17. Shri Ershad Ali		"
18. Mrs. Kalpana Ghose		"
19. Shri T. K. Banerjee		"
20. „ Sundarlal Tripathi		Jagdalpur
21. Dr. O. P. Singh		Jaunpur
22. Shri B. Vasudeo Rao		Mysore
23. „ M. V. Lakshminarayana		"
24. „ A. D. Pathak		Nagpur
25. Dr. Chandra Sekhar Gupta		"
26. Shri Mauji Ram Bhardwaj		Nohar.
27. Dr. D. K. Ganguly		Santiniketan
28. Shri Jadumani Sahu		Bhubaneswar
29. Smt. S. Tripathi		"
30. Sri Man Mohan Tripathi		"
31. Shri Prashant P. Kulkarni		Nagpur
32. Dr. S. C. Behera		Sambalpur
33. Dr. P. K. Mishra		"
34. Shri Prafull Kumar Narayn		"
35. Dr. M. P. Singh		Varanasi
36. Shri Onkar Nath Rai		"
37. Dr. Haldhar Pathak		"

Following resolutions were moved and passed by the General Body.

1. To confirm the minutes of the last meeting of the General Body held on 3rd June, 1981 at Pune. : The minutes of the last meeting of the General Body were read and confirmed.
2. To condole the deaths of the persons connected with the Society. : Condolences for the following deceased persons were observed :
 1. Late Sri Arvind Kumar H. Sanghavi,
 2. „ „ Santosh Kumar
 3. „ „ Vishan Narain Kapoor
 4. „ Prof. R. C. Majumbar
 5. „ Prof. N. R. Ray
 6. „ Shri Amlanand Ghosh,
 7. „ Dr. B. C. Sen,
 8. „ Dr. B. N. Sharma.
3. General Secretary's Report : The General Secretary read his report which runs as follows :

Dear Members,

I have great pleasure in presenting the Secretary's report for the year 1981-82. Within a span of five months we are meeting again for our Annual Conference. The reason behind this quick succession of Conferences is well known to you. Due to several unavoidable circumstances we had to delay our previous annual meeting and hence to make up the loss we decided to have this Conference at Sambalpur. We are grateful to the authorities of this University for hosting the 69th Conference of the Society. We are grateful to Prof. A. M. Shastri of Nagpur University also who very kindly agreed to preside over this session.

There is not much to add in our report about the progress of the Society. During these five months I personally could not pay much attention to the affairs of the Society because of my visits to some foreign countries. But this does not mean that I was out of touch with the affairs of the Society. My guidance was always available to our colleagues and workers. I have to announce that we have almost brought the publication of our Journal uptodate. The first part of Vol. XLIII, 1981 of the Journal of Numismatic Society of India is out and the second part will be published by the end of December, 1981. I am sure under the able guidance of our General Editor Prof. Lallanji Gopal we will be able to bring out Journal twice a year. Now, the scholars will not have to wait for long to see their researches printed. I feel pleasure to announce the publication of the Seminar proceedings on "The Foreign Elements in Indian and Indigenous Coins" edited by Prof. A. M. Shastri.

We have a good number of back volumes of our Journal out of print and several other volumes are likely to be out of print soon. The out of print volumes are as follows :—

1. JNSI Vol. XI to XXII and XXIV.

Other Publications :

1. Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard : by Dr. A. S. Altekar, M. A., L. L. B., D. Litt.

Memoirs :

1. The Coins of Tipu Sultan of Mysore : by G. P. Taylor.
2. Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India. by Birbal Sahni, D. Sc.

Notes & Monographs :

1. The Coin Types of Indo-Greek Kings : by A. K. Narain.
2. A Bibliography of the Hoards of Punch-Marked Coins of Ancient India : by Parameshwari Lal Gupta.
3. The Bactrian Treasure of Qunduz : A. D. A. Biver, M. A., D. Phill.
4. The Coin-Types of Saka-Pahlava Kings of India : By G. K. Jenkins and A. K. Narain.
5. List of Published Satavahana Coins : by M. Rama Rao.
6. The Coin Types of Kings with Mitra-Ending Names; by Bela Lahiri.
7. The Gold Coin-Types of the Great Kushanas : by Major Allen A. Wood III.
8. A Survey of Indian Numismatography : by J. N. Tiwari and P. L. Gupta.
9. Coins of the Pandyas : by C. H. Biddulph.

Following volumes are also expected to be out of print soon :—

1. Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India : by Lallanji Gopal.
2. Coins of the Cholas : by C. H. Biddulph.
3. Coinage of South India : by Vidya Prakash.

We are preparing a plan to reprint these volumes, For this we need funds and we are approaching various State Governments and the Central Government and ICHR for providing necessary funds. I take this opportunity to request our esteemed members to exert their influences on their respective Governments to release grants for the project. Those honourable members who can do some thing for the betterment of the Society may kindly volunteer their names so that we can proceed in an organised and planned way.

Similarly we are planning to get our Memoirs also reprinted. Your helping hand is very much needed.

We are also building up our Museum and I feel great pleasure in announcing that our appeal to the Coin-dealer members to donate coins to our Museum has been very encouraging. Sarvashri Gulshan Kumar, Life Member, Gurgaon and K. M. Savla, Ordinary

Member, Bomay have jointly donated a gold Mohar of Mohd. Tughlak. The following members have annouced to donate coins :

1. Shri S. P. Bhandari, Bombay 1000 Coins,
2. „ Bahusar Vasudeva Rao, Mysore 250 Local Coins,
3. „ K. M. Savla, Bombay.

Friends ! It is really a matter of great satisfaction to find that our members are very much alive to our problems and are writing letteas suggesting ways and means to intensify our activities and also to improve our finacial position. It is really gratifying to note that our members are responding to our call earnestly and sincerely.

Gentlemen ! I do not want to repeat our last appeal presenting a dark picture of our finances. But, the grants from the State Governments and the Central Government urgently need to be increased and for incrasing our resources we must try to tap all possible resources to put the Society on sound financial footing.

THANKS,

4. To approve the Auditor's Report for : The Auditors' Report was circulated read and the year 1980-81. approved.
5. To pass the Revised Budget for the : The Revised Budget was circulated read and year 1981-82. approved.
6. To consider the request of Prof. : On the request of Prof. K. C. Jain Vikram K. C. Jain of the Vikram University, Ujjain, the following resolution was passed : "The General Body of the Numismatic Sociaty of India resolves that Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology be favourably considered by the Union Public Service Commission for inclusion as subject in the list of optional subjects of the Civil Services Examinations on the fallowing grounds ;—
 1. This subject is taught in most of the Universities of India such as Calcutta, Banaras, Madras, Allahabad, Lucknow, Patna, Chandigarh, Ujjain, Bhopal, Bod gaya and Sagar. Thus, the number of students studying this subject is considerable.
 2. This subject is no less comprehensive in comparision with the subjects mentioned

in the list of optional subjects. It covers Archaeology, Political History, Political, Social and Economic institutions, Religion, Art & Architecture, Greater India, Numismatics, Epigraphy, Historical-Geography and History of Ancient Indian Literature.

3. It is expanding day by day because of its relationship to the developing Natural Sciences such as Geology, Palaeontology, Polynology and Nuclear Physics (carbon 14 method).
 4. In the previous syllabus of I. A. S. Examination, there were two papers Indian History I (From Chandragupta Maurya to Harsha) and Ancient Indian Civilization and Philosophy. The present syllabus of the subject History covers only the one fourth portion of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology.
 5. The subject is directly concerned with the roots of Indian Civilization. Therefore, its study should be encouraged by including in the list of the optional subjects.
7. Decisions of the Executive Council : Following decisions of the Executive Council announced by the Chairman. were announced by the Vice-Chairman :—
- i. That Prof. Upendra Thakur has been elected President for the next session.
 - ii. The next session of the Society will be held at Ujjain under the auspices of the University School of Studies in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Vikram University, Ujjain.
 - iii. That the topic of the Seminar at the next session will be 'Indian Numismatography'. Dr. T. P. Verma has been asked to organise it.

- iv. That the next issue of the Journal will be dedicated to Prof. R. C. Majumdar.
- v. That a consolidated Index of the JNSI from I to XL volumes will be brought out.

Item No. (iii) to (v) were recommended by the Sub-Committee consisting of

- 1. Prof. A.M. Shastri,
- 2. Prof. A.N. Lahiri,
- 3. Dr. B. Chatterjee and
- 4. Dr. T. P. Verma (Convener)

- vi. That the members of the Society are to be provided with a membership Certificate.

- 1. Any other matter with the permission of the Chairman. : Prof. A. N. Lahiri raised the question of non-delivery of the Journal. It was decided that the Journal should be sent by V. P. P. for the cost of postage. On the suggestion of Mr. B. Vasudev Rao, Mysore it was decided that the cost be fixed to the nearest complete rupee,

sd/(Upendra Thakur)

General Secretary

Numismatic Society of India

An emergent meeting of the Executive Council of the Society was held in the Chairman's room of the Society on the 15th April, 1982 at 11.30 A.M. The following members were present :—

- 1. Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal (in chair)
- 2. Prof. Dr. Upendra Thakur
- 3. Prof. Dr. K. K. Sinha (Head of the Deptt. of A.I.H.C. & Arch., Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi—5).
- 4. Dr. T. P. Verma
- 5. Dr. Paras Nath Singh, and
- 6. Dr. A. L. Yadav.

1. To decide about the authorisation : Considered the letter of Sri Virendra Nath, of some one to receive the Central Assistant Educational Adviser, Department of Culture, Govt. of India, New Delhi, letter no. F. 23-9/81-CH-3 dt. 27th March, 1982 from the Assistant Educational Adviser, Department of Culture, Government of India, New Delhi. It was resolved that the forms and conditions of the sanction of even number dated 4.3 82 is acceptable to the Society and that the Chairman, Professor Dr. Lallanji Gopal is authorised by the Executive Council to collect the Draft/Cheque on behalf of the Society.
2. Any other matter with the permission : It was resolved that a meeting of the Executive Council be called any time before 31st of the Chair. July, 1982.

sd/(Upendra Thakur)

General Secretary

Numismatic Society of India

Ghanshyam Das
B. Com. F. C. A.
Chartered Accountants

AUDITORS' REPORT

In terms of our separate report we have examined the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st March, 1981 and the annexed Income and Expenditure Account for the year 1980-81 of the Numismatic Society of India, P. O. Hindu University, Varanasi with the books, vouchers and explanations. The informations produced and found the same in accordance therewith, subject to that :—

1. Bank Reconciliation statements were not produced to us.
2. Interest on Fixed Deposits have not been provided.

CK, 37/39, Bansphatak
VARANASI
14th Nov., 1981

Sd/**Ghanshyam Das**
Ghanshyam Das & Co.
Chartered Accountants

BALANCE SHEET AS AT

Figures of the
Previous Year

CAPITAL & LIABILITIES

Rs. P. Rs. P.

SPECIAL FUND :—

35,671.59	Balance as per last Balance Sheet.	35,671.59	
	<i>Add Interest.</i>	49.50	35,721.00
3,000.00	Furniture Fund	3,000.00	
8,000.00	Library Fund	8,000.00	
34,600.00	Museum Fund	34,600.00	
2,500.00	Strong Room Fund	2,500.00	
45,661.52	Building Fund	45,661.52	
	<i>Add Interest</i>	19.46	45,680.98
			1,29,502.07
1,899.40	Booklet Scheme :	1,899.40	
	<i>Add Interest</i>	448.50	2,347.90
3,385.76	Reserve Fund :		
	Balance	6,728.44	
	Addition during the year	3,916.00	
	<i>Add Interest.</i>	252.50	
		10,896.94	
	<i>Less transferred to General Fund</i>	9,342.60	
		1,554.34	
	<i>Less Bank Charges</i>	6.00	1,548.34
712.78	Suspense Account :		903.33
18,595.22	General Fund :		
	Balance		24,016.59

1,54,026.27

Total Rs. 1,58,318.23

Sd. UPENDRA THAKUR
General SecretarySd. KRISHNA KUMAR
SuperintendentSd. J. P. SINGH
Treasurer

31st MARCH, 1981

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Figures of the
Previous Year

ASSETS & PROPERTIES

Rs. P. Rs. P.

28,682.00	Building :—	28,682.00	
	Less Depreciation for the year	717.00	27,965.00
1,284.50	Dies :—	1,284.50	
	Less Depreciation for the year	128.45	1,156.05
2,290.50	Furniture :—	2,290.50	
	Less Depreciation for the year	229.00	2,061.50
161.10	Typewriter :—	161.10	
	Less Depreciation for the year	16.10	145.00
6,212.65	Library :—	6,212.65	
	Addition during the year	208.00	
		6,420.65	
	Less Depreciation for the year	963.00	5,457.65
47.26	Duplicator :—	47.26	
	Less Depreciation for the year	7.08	40.18
1,028.70	Electric Equipment :—	1,028.70	
	Less Depreciation for the year	102.87	925.83
27,902.00	Museum :—	27,902.00	
	Less Depreciation for the year	2,790.20	25,111.80
1,085.00	Strong Room :—	1,085.00	
	Less Depreciation for the year	54.25	1,030.75
	CASH AND BANK BALANCES :		
1,810.00	Fixed Deposit with State Bank of India B. H. U. Branch	—	—
99.40	Booklet Scheme S. B. a/c No. 14985	—	2,347.90
15,000.00	Building Fund-Fixed Deposit	15,000.00	
398.93	Building Fund-S. B. a/c No. 21236	418.39	15,418.39
15,720.00	Special Fund-Fixed Deposit	15,700.00	
4,000.00	Special Fund-Fixed Deposit	4,000.00	
993.96	Special Fund-S. B. a/c No. 15170	1,043.46	20,763.46
5,400.00	Reserve Fund-Fixed Deposit	5,400.00	
8,500.00	Reserve Fund-Fixed Deposit	8,500.00	
6,728.44	Reserve Fund-S. B. a/c No. 17161	1,548.34	
5,062.70	General Fund-Current a/c	1,538.32	16,986.66
885.56	Cash in hand	—	332.15
20,743.57	Excess of Expenditure over Income	20,743.57	
	Addition during the year	17,832.34	30,575.91
1,54,026.27		Total Rs.	1,58,318.23

As per separate report on that date.

Varanasi

14th Nov. 1981

Sd. GHANSHYAM DAS
GHANSHYAM DAS & CO.
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS

Figures of the Previous Year	EXPENDITURE	Rs.	p.	Rs.	P.
3,154.94	To Postage & Telegrams			779.86	
22,730.96	„ Salary (including D. A. P. F.)			29,270.02	
1,500.00	„ Editor's Honorarium			—	—
1,405.00	„ Author's Honorarium			—	—
— —	„ Publication Expenses :—				
15,353.65	Cost of Journal	12,344.90			
7,211.68	Cost of Memoirs	—	—		
2,977.47	Cost of Monograph	—	—		
5,275.62	Cost of Bibliography	—	—	12,344.90	
775.00	„ Cost of Medals			—	—
1,042.86	„ Sundry Expenses			2,600.45	
1,364.77	„ Travelling & Conveyance			1,683.35	
250.00	„ Audit Fee			250.00	
189.10	„ Electric & Water Supply			195.25	
3,157.25	„ Stationery			800.88	
575.00	„ Telephone Charges			1,027.00	
— —	„ I. C. H. R. Research Project ;—				
	Salary to Senior Research Investigator	6,890.32			
	Office Assistant (Part-Time)	2,296.77			
	Stationery	159.60			
	Books	1,009.00			
	Travelling Allowance	1,338.50			
	Banking Charges	15.00		11,709.19	
— —	„ Depreciation on Assets :—				
735.00	Building	717.00			
114.30	Electric Equipments	102.87			
142.70	Dies	128.45			
254.50	Furniture	229.00			
17.90	Typewriter	16.10			
1,096.35	Library	963.00			
8.34	Duplicator	7.08			
6,544.63	Museum	2,790.20			
1,505.00	Strong Room	54.25		5,007.95	
77,382.02				Total Rs. 65,668.85	

Sd. UPENDRA THAKUR
General Secretary

Sd. KRISHNA KUMAR
Superintendent

Sd. J. P. SINGH
Treasurer

FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 1981

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Figures of the Previous Year		INCOME	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.
16,098.07	By	Subscription			13,376.95	
150.00	,,	Advertisement			200.00	
99.79	,,	Banking Charges			22.81	
— —	,,	Donation			146.06	
14,000.46	,,	Sale of Publications			11,837.69	
62.50	,,	Coin Review			93.00	
40.00	,,	Numismatic Supplement			210.00	
	,,	GOVERNMENT GRANTS :—				
7,125.00	,,	Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, for Printing of Journal of 1979	4,750.00			
5,000.00	,,	Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, Research Project	12,000.00			
— —		Tamilandu Government 1978-79.	600.00			
— —		Punjab Government 1978-79.	1,000.00			
— —		Gujarat Government 1978-79 & 1979-80.	1,000.00			
1,000.00		Orissa Government 1979-80.	1,000.00			
300.00		Madhya Pradesh Govt. 1979-80 & 1980-81.	600.00			
500.00		Uttar Pradesh Government-Education- 1980-81.	500.00			
— —		Uttar Pradesh Cultural-1980-81.	500.00			
1,000.00		Maharashtra Government	— —			
4,000.00		Central Government	— —			
600.00		Bihar Government	— —			
2,000.00		Karnatak Government Recurring	— —			
3,000.00		Karnatak Government Non Recurring	— —		21,950.00	
22,406.20		Excss of Expaditure over Income			17,832.34	
77,382.02					Total Rs. 65,668.85	

As per our separate report on that date.

Varanasi
14th Nov., 1981.

Sd. GHANSHYAM DAS
GHANSHYAM DAS & CO.
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANT.

BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR THE YEARS

INCOME

S. No.	Particulars	Actuals of 1980-81	Estimates for the 1981-82	Estimates for the 1982-83	Remarks
	By Balance	885.56	332.15	—	
	I. General Fund				
1.	By Subscriptions.	13,376.95	10,000.00	10,000.00	
2.	„ Government Grants				
	(i) Assam Govt.	—	—	—	
	(ii) Gujarat Govt. 1978-79 & 1979-80	1,000.00	1,000.00	500.00	
	(iii) Madhya Pradesh Govt. 1979-80 and 1980-81.	600.00	300.00	300.00	
	(iv) Orissa Govt. 1979-80.	1,000.00	2,000.00	1,000.00	
	(v) Maharashtra Govt.	—	2,000.00	1,000.00	
	(vi) Bihar Govt.	—	600.00	300.00	
	(vii) Punjab Govt. 1978-79.	1,000.00	3,000.00	1,000.00	
	(viii) Uttar Pradesh Govt. 1980-81.	500.00	500.00	500.00	
	(ix) Uttar Pradesh Govt. 1980-81.	500.00	—	—	
	(x) Tamil Nadu Govt. 1978-79	600.00	1,800.00	600.00	
	(xi) Central Govt.	—	4,000.00	4,000.00	
	(xii) Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi for the Printing of the				
	(a) JNSI Vol. XLI (year 1979)—	4,750.00	5,000.00	5,000.00	
	(b) Research Project.	12,000.00	—	—	
3.	By Banking Charges	22.81	—	—	
4.	„ Suspense Account	190.55	—	—	
		35,540.31	30,200.00	24,200.00	
	II. Special Fund				
5.	By Donation	146.06	500.00	500.00	
6.	„ Deligation fee	—	250.00	250.00	
7.	„ Advertisement	200.00	550.00	550.00	
		346.06	1,300.00	1,300.00	

1981-82 & 1982-83 INCLUDING ACTUALS OF 1980-81

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EXPENDITURE

Sl. No.	Particulars	Actuals of 1980-81	Estimates for 1981-82	Estimates for 1982-83	Remarks
I. General Fund					
	Balance (if over drawn)	—	—	3,08,236.80	
1.	To Salary, D. A. & Contribution towards Provident Fund	29,270.02	34,718.95	35,896.25	
2.	„ Auditors' Honorarium :	250.00	250.00	250.00	
3.	„ Office Expenses :				
	(a) Stationery	800.88	3,000.00	3,000.00	
	(b) Telephone	1,027.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	
	(c) Postage	779.80	3,000.00	3,000.00	
	(d) Contingent	2,600.45	2,500.00	2,500.00	
	(e) Electric Bills and Equipments	195.25	3,000.00	3,000.00	
	(f) Advertisement	—	250.00	250.00	
	(g) Banking Charges	—	250.00	250.00	
4.	„ Printing of Journal etc.	12,344.90	20,000.00	20,000.00	
5.	„ Travelling Allowance and Conveyance.	1,683.35	3,000.00	3,000.00	
6.	„ Library Books etc.	—	30,000.00	30,000.00	
	Library Books Binding Charges.	—	1,500.00	1,500.00	
7.	„ Laboratory	208.00	250.00	250.00	
8.	„ Museum	—	50,000.00	50,000.00	
9.	„ Furniture	—	2,500.00	2,500.00	
10.	„ Annual Conference and Medals. etc.	—	5,000.00	5,000.00	
		49,159.71	1,60,218.95	1,61,296.25	
II. Special Publications :					
11.	To I. (a) Reprinting of back Volumes of the Journal—	—	15,000.00	15,000.00	
	(b) Reprinting of the Memoirs	—	5,000.00	5,000.00	
	(c) Reprinting of the Monographs—	—	5,000.00	5,000.00	
	(d) „ Technique of Casting Coins	—	10,000.00	—	
	(e) „ of Bayana Hoard	—	25,000.00	—	

INCOME

S. No.	Particulars	Actuals of 1980-81	Estimates for the 1911-82	1982-83	Remarks
III. Publication Fund					
8.	By Sale of Publications	11,837.69	15,000.00	15,000.00	
	„ ii. „ „ Numismatic Supplement	210.00	100.00	100.00	
	iii. „ „ Coin Review	93.00	50.00	50.00	
		12,140.69	15,150.00	15,150.00	
9.	Loan From Reserve Fund				
		12,579.24	—	—	
		12,579.24	—	—	

Total	61,491.86	46,982.15	40,650.00
Deficit	—	3,08,236.80	5,38,983.05
Grand Total	61,491.86	3,55,218.95	5,79,633.05

Sd KRISHNA KUMAR
Superintendent

Sd Dr. T. P. VERMA
Joint Secretary

Dr. J. P. Singh
Treasurer

1981-82 & 1982-83 INCLINE ACTUALS OF 1980-81

EXPENDITURE

S. No.	Particulars	Actuals of 1980-81	Estimates for the 1988-82	Estimates for the 1982-83	Remarks
II. (a)	Printing of Memoirs	—	10,000.00	10,000.00	
	„ of Monographs	—	10,000.00	10,000.00	
(b)	Seminar Proceedings	—	15,000.00	15,000.00	
(c)	Bibliography	—	10,000.00	10,000.00	
(d)	Corpus	—	15,000.00	15,000.00	
			1,20,000.00	85,000.00	
12.	To Building Fund	—	75,000.00	25,000.00	
13.	„ Reserve Fund	—	—	—	
14.	„ Special Fund	—	—	—	
15.	„ Bank	—	—	—	
16.	„ Research Project I. C. H. R.	12,000.00	—	—	
		12,000.00	5,65,000.00	5,28,000.00	
	BALANCE	332.15	—	—	
	GRAND TOTAL	61,491.86	3,55,218.65	5,79,633.05	

Sd KRISHNA KUMAR
Superintendent

Sd Dr. T. P. VERMA
Joint Secretary

Dr. J. P. SINGH
Treasurer

APPENDIX-I

Sl. No.	Name With Designation	Actuals of 1980-81		Estimates For The Years 1981-82 & 1982-83			
		Salary	D. A.	P. F.	Salary	D. A.	P. F.
1.	Sri Krishna Kumar Srivastava <i>Superintendent</i>	7,650.00	3,091.50	641.82	8,350.00	4,577.40	695.80
2.	" Prahlad Narayan Pandey <i>Office-Assistant</i>	3,285.00	1,687.00	273.75	3,360.00	2,470.00	280.00
3.	" Madan Mahan Srivastava <i>Office-Assst.</i>	3,162.97	1,629.39	158.77	3,240.00	2,381.60	270.00
4.	" Budhu Ram, Peon	—	—	—	—	—	—
5.	" Paras Nath Yadav, Peon	2,388.32	1,223.80	—	2,427.00	1,784.70	202.25
6.	" Radheshyam, Peon	2,403.19	1,234.30	200.21	2,442.00	1,795.20	202.50
7.	" Ram Autar, Sweeper (Part Time)	240.60	—	—	240.00	—	—
Total		19,129.48	8,865.99	1274.55	20,059.00	13,08.40	1,651.55

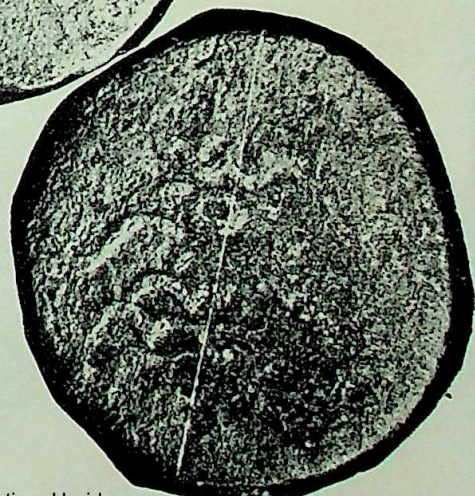
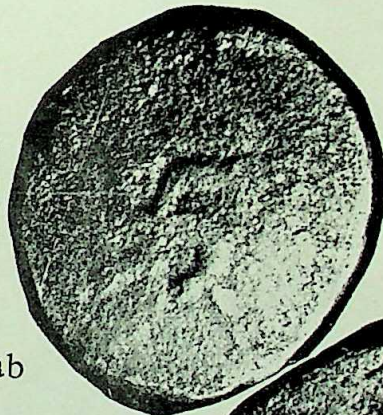
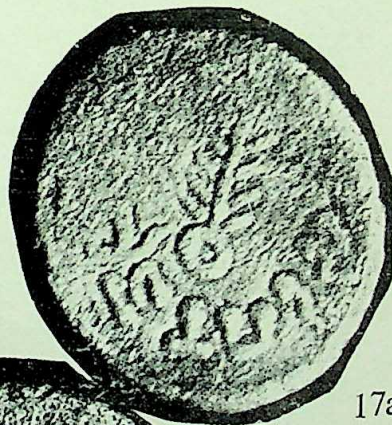
Scale of pay : (i) Superintendent : 555-25-750-EB-30-900; (ii) Office-Assistant : 260-6-290-EB-6-326-8-366-EB-8-390-10-400
(iii) Peon : 196-3-220-EB-3-232.

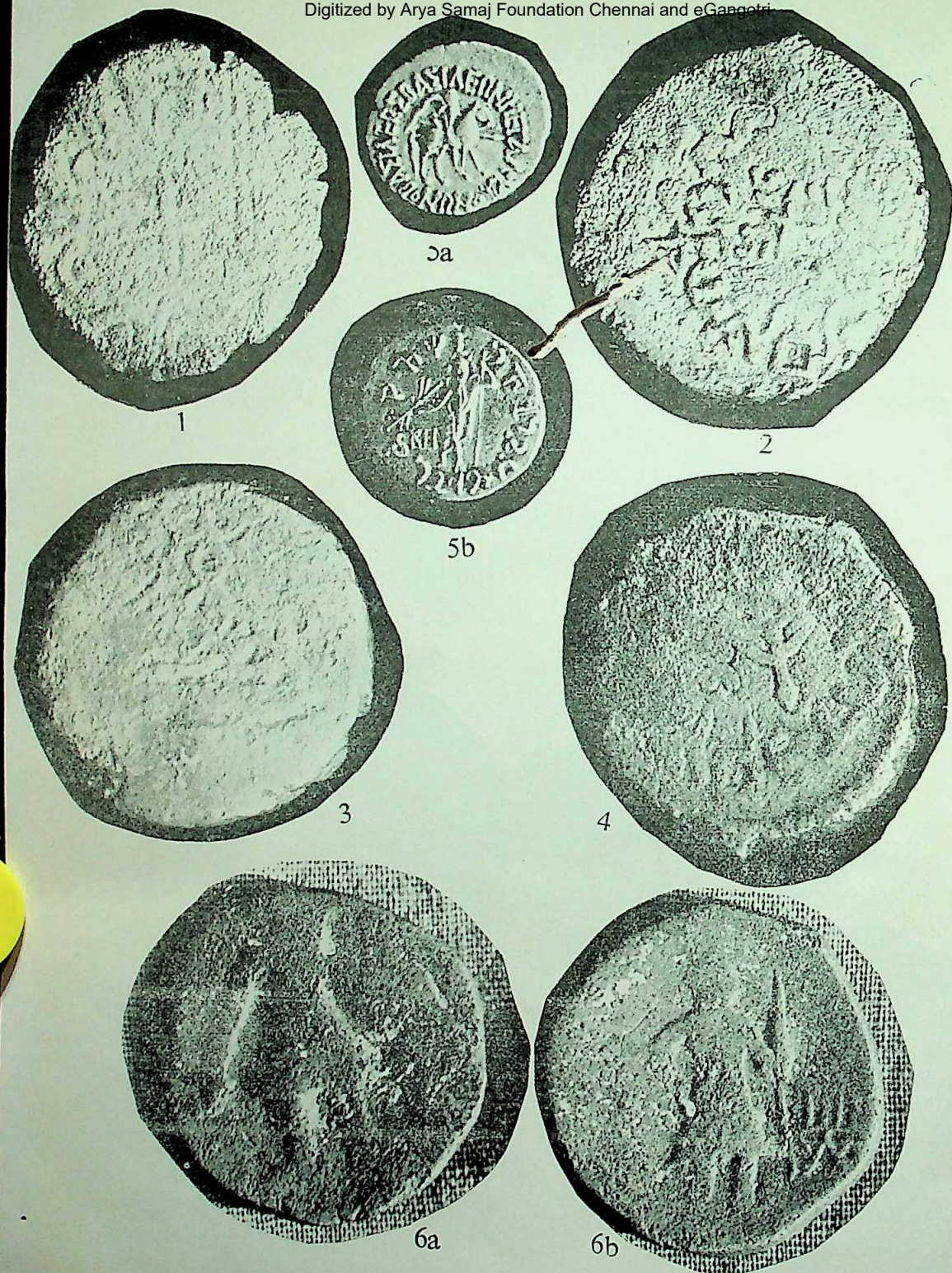
PLUS DEARNESS According to the Central Government Rules.

Sd Krishna Kumar
Superintendent

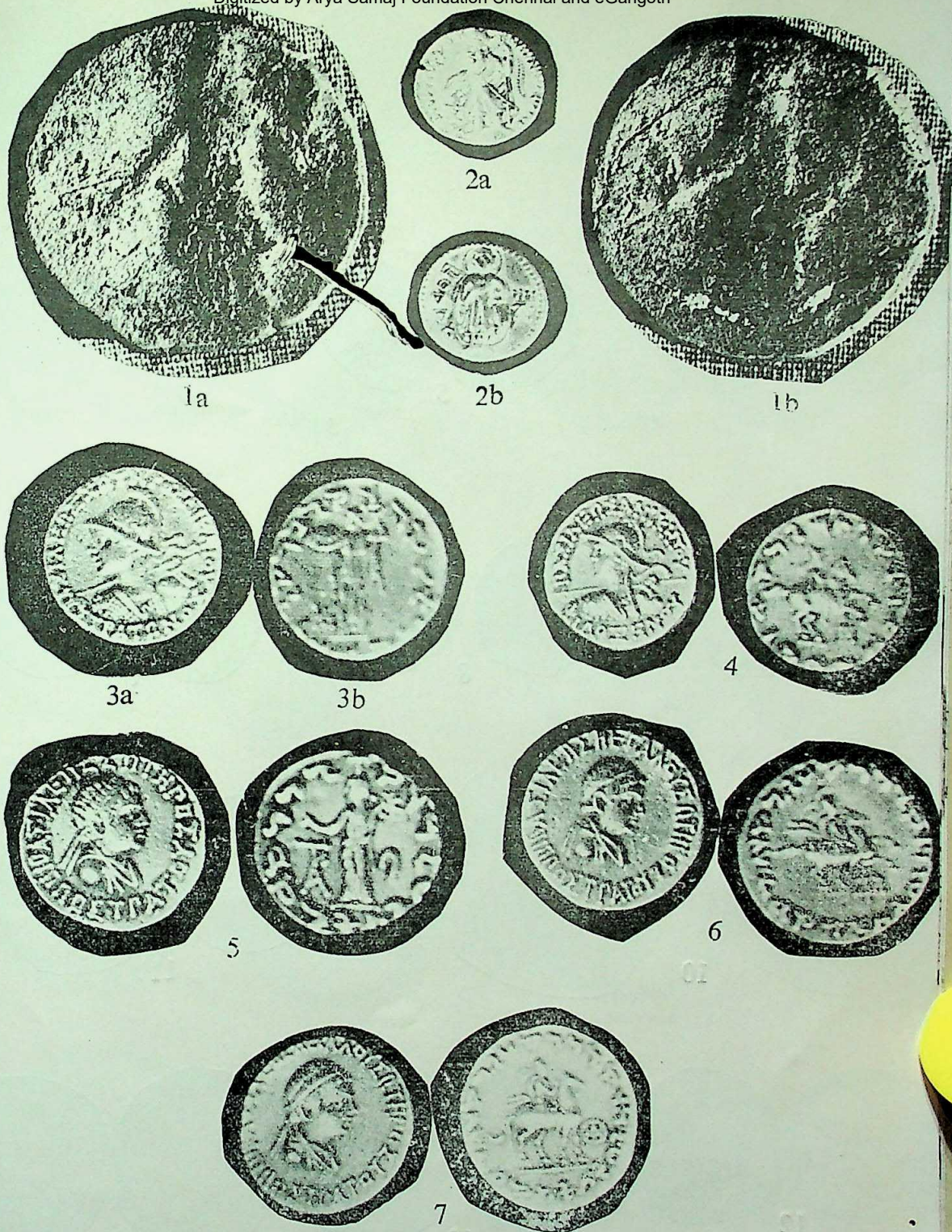
Jai Prakash Singh
Treasurer

Sd T. P. Verma
Joint Secretary





1-4. Sibi Coins in Deccan College Museum. 5. A silver Tetradrachma of Vonunes. 6a-b. Restruck and reused Kushana and Yaudheya coin.



1 a-b, Restruck and reused Kushāna & Yaudheya coin, 2. A new Boddo-type coin of Kanishka, 3-7 Some rare Indo-Greek silver coins.

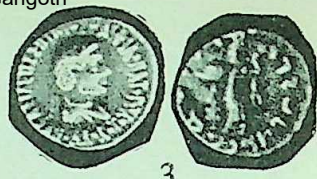
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1



2



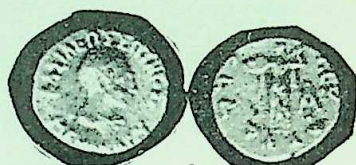
3



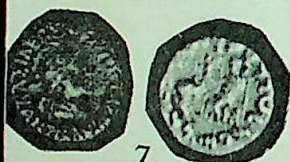
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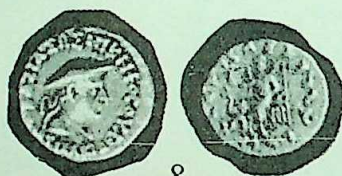
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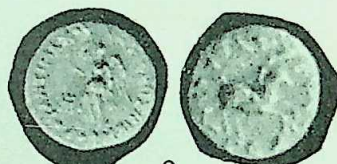
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12



13

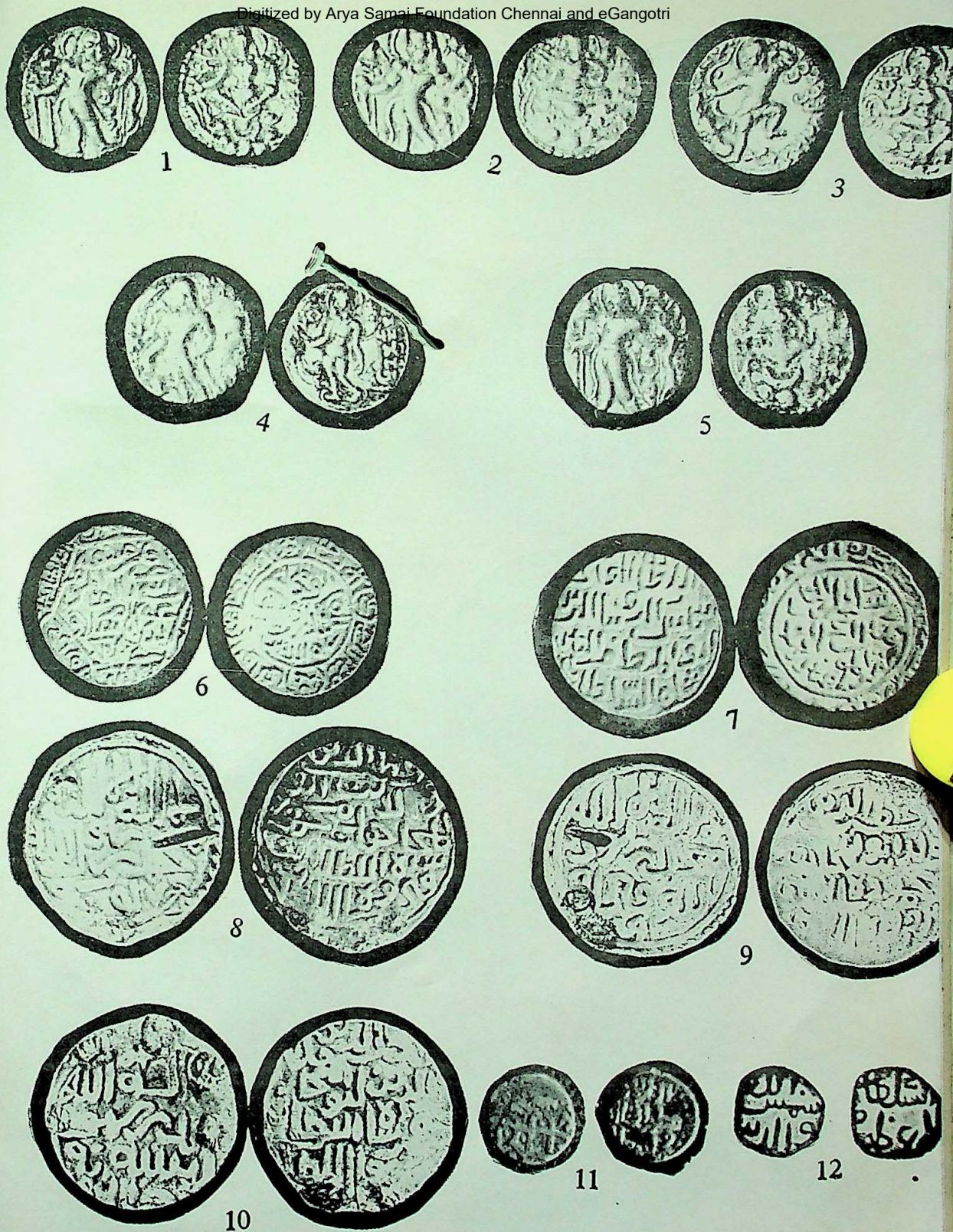


14



1-9, Some more Indo-Greek silver coins, 10 A Silver coin of Chandragupta I & Kumāradevi, 11-14 Pagārā hoard of Gupta gold coins. Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

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1-5 Pagārā hoard of Gupta gold coins, 6-7 Silver coins of Bengal Sultans, 8-10 Coins of Su
 Qutbuddin Mahmud Shah of Bengal, 11 A copper coin of a new Sultan, 12 A copper coin



1



2



3



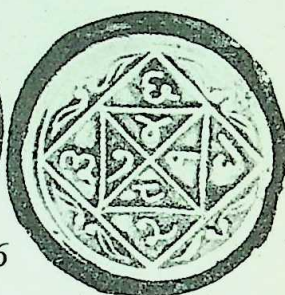
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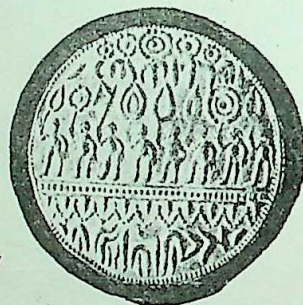
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7



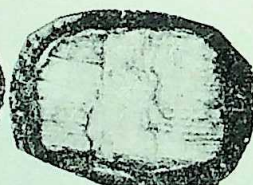
8a



8b



12a



12b



9



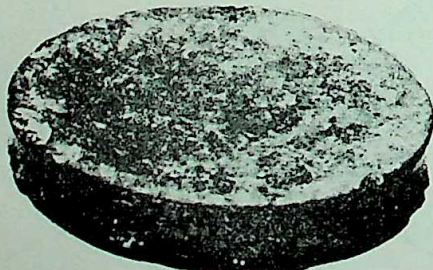
10a



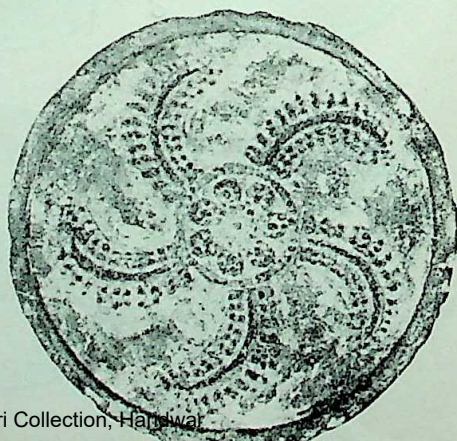
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11

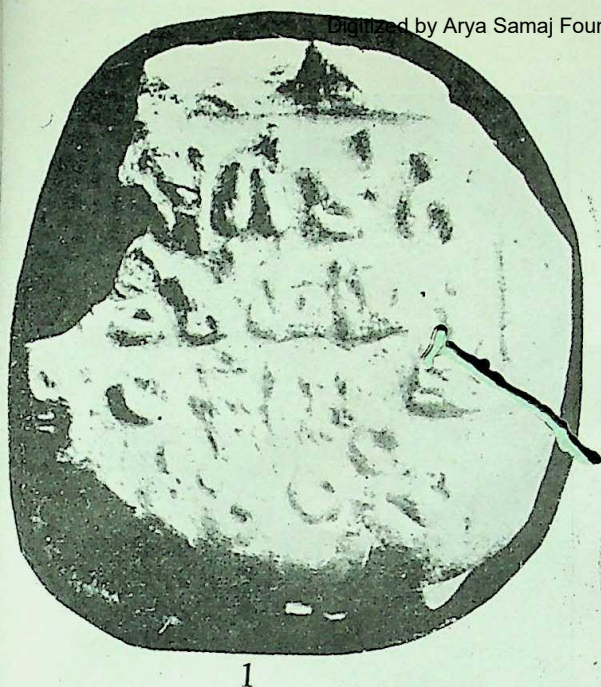


13a



13b

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1



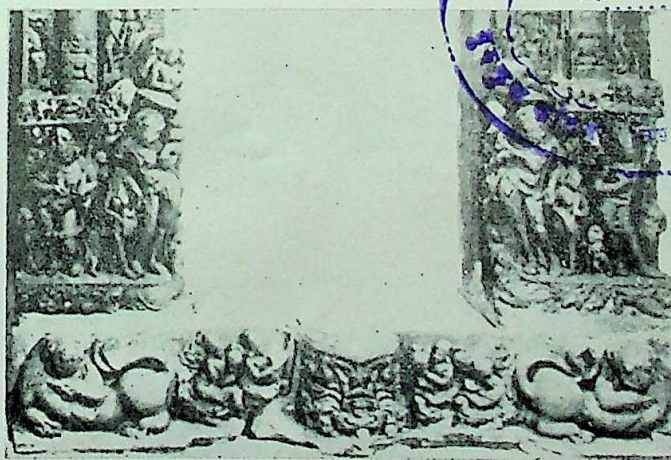
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3



4

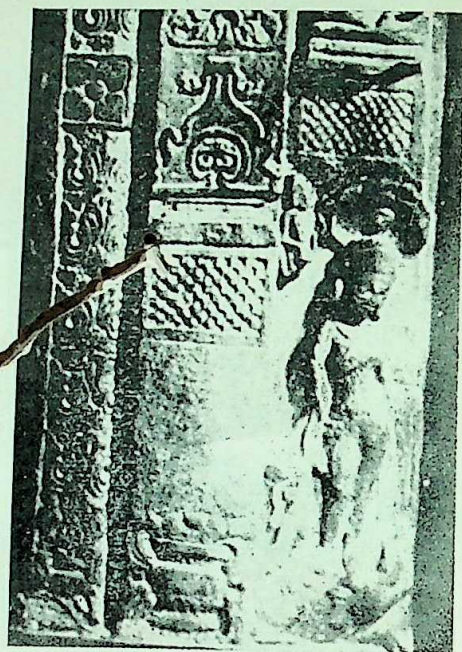


6

1. A sealing of Agnimitra 2-6. Ganga on Gupta gold coins and sculpture.



1



2

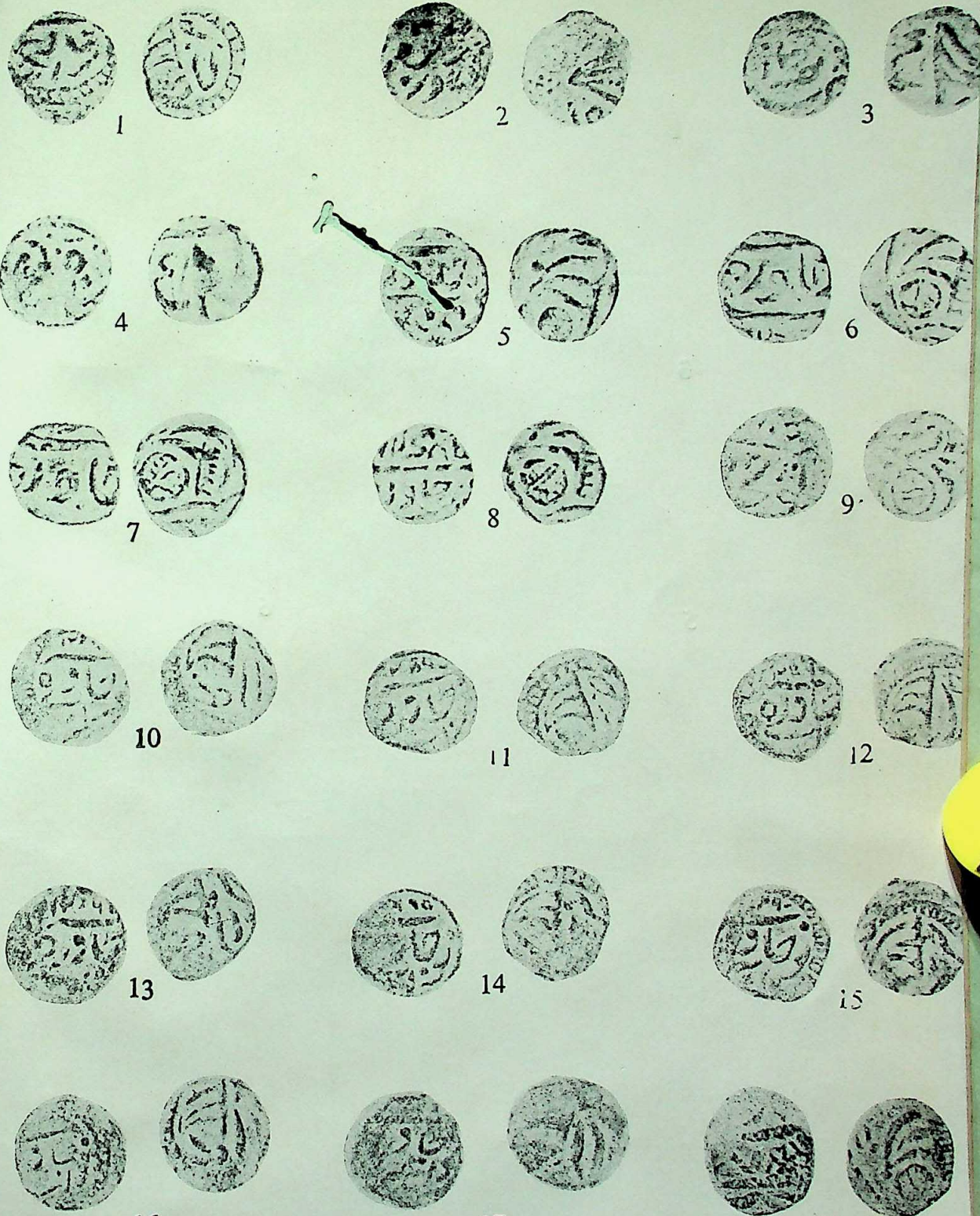


3



4

1-4. Gaṅgā on some Gupta and later sculptures.
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16

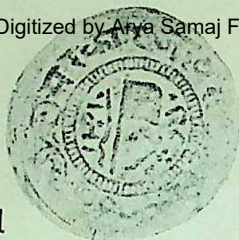
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18

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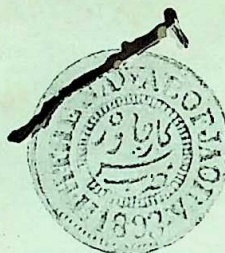
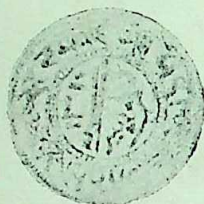
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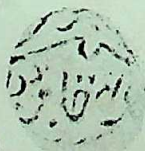
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9



10



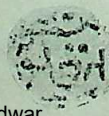
13



11



12



1-7. Copper coins from Javara State, 8-13. Silver coins from Javara State.

31/8/87

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1999-2000

